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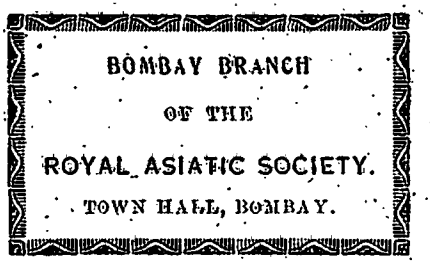

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A

TOUR TO LONDON;

OR,

NEW OBSERVATIONS ON ENGLAND,

AND ITS INHABITANTS.

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BY M. GROSLEY, F.R.S.

MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMIES OF INSCRIPTIONS AND BELLES LETTRES.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH

BY THOMAS NUGENT, LL.D.

AND FELLOW OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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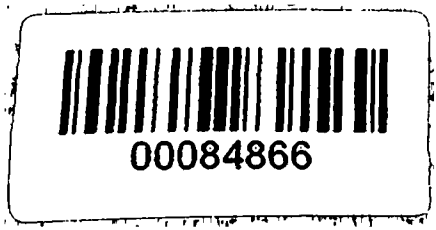
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THE

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THE following Obſervations are the reſult of a late Tour to London*; obſervations ſince enlarged and improved by ſtudying the Hiſtory of England in her own hiſtorians, and by combining the knowledge acquired by this ſtudy with that I gained of men and things on the ſpot.

A view, though tranſient, of the places where theſe events happened, could not fail of throwing upon them that light, and giving them that importance, in which not only the moſt eſſential advantage, but the principal pleaſure of travelling conſiſts†. This light is to geography, which it both enlivens, and, as it were, animates, what geography is to hiſtory. Herodotus was indebted to it for a great number

* In the Year 1765.

† Movemur enim, neſcio quo pacto, iis locis in quibus eorum quos admiramur adſunt veſtigia. Cic. de Leg. L. ii. init. & de finibus, L. v.

of thoſe uſeful particulars we meet with in every part of his work; where he dwells with peculiar complacency, and to the no ſmall benefit of his reader, on thoſe objects he had himſelf ſeen, diſtinguiſhing them carefully from thoſe of which he had only heard.

I muſt not forget making my grateful acknowledgments to thoſe Engliſh gentlemen, whoſe affability ſeconded the deſire I ſhewed of being inſtructed. I have been in the company of Engliſhmen of all ranks, conditions, and ſtations; and have experienced, in all, the ſame indulgence, the ſame complaiſance, the ſame kindneſs.

But I muſt mention one of them by name. This was Sir James Mac Donald, Bart. equally eſteemed at Verſailles and St. James's; equally beloved by the ſprightly Pariſians, and the thinking Londoners; poſſeſſing, at once, the moſt agreeable in every art and ſcience; found worthy, from his earlieſt youth, of the friendſhip and confidence of one of the greateſt magiſtrates England ever produced *; he ſeemed formed to fill with luſtre ſome of the firſt places in his own country, or to ſupport, in others, the great name acquired by the Keiths, the Walls, the Mahonis, &c. But a premature death, at the age of twenty-

* Lord Hardwicke, Lord High Chancellor.

four

four, put an end to all thoſe hopes, which the poſſeſſion of every natural embelliſhment and acquired accompliſhment gave him a right to form.

Happily for me, London enjoyed him during my ſtay there, and I ſpent moſt of my mornings with him; almoſt entirely in queſtions on my part, and anſwers on his; anſwers, which left me no room to wiſh for farther information, with regard to paſt or preſent events; and their ſeveral cauſes, whether occaſional or final.

Conſidering the nature of theſe helps, provided always I have made the good uſe of them I intended, my trip to London muſt by no means be ranked amongſt thoſe journies, which a roving diſpoſition, anxiety, or ſpleen, make ſome people undertake; or thoſe excurſions which others ſubmit to perform on the ſame account they would ſwallow a doſe of phyſic; that is, for the ſake of their health; with averſion, and yet with a ſeeming greedineſs proportionable to it.

I relate things as I have ſeen them *: I deliver my reflections juſt as I conceived them, ſimply, ingenuouſly, frankly, without pretending, in quality of author, to have ſeen more, or with better eyes, than thoſe who have written before

* "If not according to the meaſure of the things themſelves, "at leaſt according to that of my own eyes." Montaigne, ſpeaking of himſelf, l. ii. c. 10.

me, or may happen to write after me on the ſame ſubject.

To conclude, What I ſay, I ſay it, though a Frenchman, in a ſpirit quite free from all national antipathy, on the one hand; and, on the other, equally void of that enthuſiaſm, which can ſee nothing good, nothing beautiful, nothing great, but under a Britiſh ſky: "Soleo et in alia "caſtra tranſire, non ut transfuga, ſed tamquam "explorator *."

* Seneca, Epiſt. ii.

THE

THE

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THE following Work was written by the ingenious and learned Monſ. Groſley, author of *The New Obſervations on* ITALY *and its Inhabitants*. Not ſatisfied with viſiting, in the true ſpirit of a philoſopher, that renowned ſeat of the Muſes, he was ſoon after prompted, by his inſatiable thirſt after knowledge, to come over to *England*, in order to make farther diſcoveries, in this *mercatura bonarum artium*; which furniſhed him with materials for the preſent performance. The circumſtance of our having tranſlated the firſt of theſe works, induced the author to deſire we ſhould likewiſe undertake a tranſlation of the ſecond; a requeſt which we the more readily complied with, on account of the peculiar merit of the original.

It may be ſaid in general, that it contains a great fund of erudition, diſplayed in appoſite quotations, and ingenious applications of Latin and Italian paſſages of the beſt writers, intermixed with happy turns of thought, and original ſtrokes of humour: its chief excellence, however, muſt be allowed to conſiſt in a profound knowledge of hiſtory and juriſprudence, joined to that of the ancient uſages and cuſtoms of

France

France and England. His characters are well drawn, his obſervations ſolid and judicious, and his anecdotes entertaining. But what muſt particularly recommend him to the Engliſh reader, is the impartial eye with which, contrary to the too general practice of French writers, he views and contemplates the laws and cuſtoms of this nation; frequently contraſting the prudence of our inſtitutions, with the ſeveral abuſes which prevail in his own country.

It may, notwithſtanding, be ſaid, that a curſory view of this kingdom could ſcarcely qualify him for an inveſtigation of the ſeveral ſubjects which fell under his pen. He muſt ſometimes have had falſe intelligence, and frequently miſunderſtood that which was true concerning the detail of particular facts, which, though not in themſelves very intereſting, are yet apt, when miſrepreſented, to expoſe a learned writer to cenſure. Hence it is that he has been animadverted upon by the authors of the Journal Encyclopedique, who charge him with the want of accuracy in ſome particulars, concerning which it would not have been difficult for him to obtain better information. The author, like a true philoſopher, whoſe ſole aim is truth, pleads guilty to the charge, and has retracted a few miſtakes, eſpecially that relating to the celebrated Mr. Garrick, of which the reader will find an account in the appendix. We have therefore taken more liberty with this work than is uſual for tranſlators; but then, to obviate the charge of preſumption againſt ourſelves, as well as to do juſtice to Monſ. Groſley's impartiality, we muſt acquaint the reader, that this liberty was taken, not only by his approbation and conſent, but at his particular requeſt. Yet

ſo

ſo numerous are the ſubjects which he treats of, that perhaps with all our diligence we muſt ſtill have recourſe to the old apology, *Humanum eſt errare*. In alleviation of any miſtake that may have eſcaped our notice, we may ſtill ſafely affirm, that the preſent performance contains a greater number of uſeful obſervations, and fewer ſtrokes of national rancour and antipathy, than the writings of Sorbiere, Muralt, Le Blanc, and other French travellers, who, inſtead of favouring the public with impartial remarks, have generally indulged their ſpleen in writing invectives and poignant ſatires on the Engliſh.

We cannot better conclude this Preface, than by giving the reader ſome account of the Author.

Peter-John Groſley was born at Troyes, the capital of Champagne, in 1718. He is an Advocate by profeſſion, has been ſome time enrolled in the Royal Academies of Inſcriptions and Belles Lettres, and is alſo a member of our Royal Society. His literary abilities have been diſplayed in a variety of ingenious performances, particularly the following. "Memoirs "relating to the Eccleſiaſtical Antiquities of the "Dioceſe of Troyes." "A Diſcourſe concerning the "Influence of Manners on Cuſtoms." "Reſearches "illuſtrating the Hiſtory of the French Law." "Memoirs on the Uterine Nobility of Champagne." "Lives of the Brothers of the Name of Pithou." "Inquiry into the Conſpiracy of Venice." "New Obſervations on Italy and its Inhabitants, by two Swediſh "gentlemen." "The Ephemerides of Troyes continued from 1757." He has alſo been concerned in the Memoirs of the Academy of Troyes, and in the laſt French tranſlation of Davila. But what, next to the impartiality with which Monſ. Groſley has viewed

other countries, does him moſt honour; is his fondneſs for his own. Not content with adding ſo much to its fame, by the noble uſe he has made of his own talents, he has taken the moſt judicious method to celebrate thoſe of his countrymen; a method which at the ſame time that it keeps their memories alive, powerfully tends to make their examples uſeful. He has undertaken to embelliſh the ſaloon of the town-houſe of Troyes, with the marble buſts of the illuſtrious natives of that city, executed by Monſ. Vaſſe, the king's ſculptor; who has already finiſhed thoſe of P. Pithou, P. le Comte, Paſſerat, Girardon, and Mignard.

CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

PASSAGE to England, page 8
Road from Dover to London, 11
The Thames, 24
Old London, 31
New London, 38
Police, Public Diverſions, &c. 48
Combats, 57
The Poor, 63
Meat, 69
Cleanlineſs, 72
Servants, 74
Houſes, 76
Public Walks, 80
Wines, 81
The People, 84
Their Antipathy to the French, *ibid.*
Nature, Cauſes, and Effects of this Antipathy, *ibid.*
Manner of living in London, 108
Commerce and Merchants, 110
Annuities on Lives, 116
Colonies, 132
Exportation, 139
Nobility concerned in Commerce, 141
Clubs, 145
Horſe Races, 156
The Engliſh Melancholy, its Cauſes, Effects, and Remedies, 165
Aptitude of the Engliſh for the Sciences, 185
National Pride, how far Melancholy may be productive of it; Effects of this Pride with regard to England, 191

Valour, 227
Suicide, 229
Fanaticiſm and Superſtition, 237
Madmen and Lunatics, 242
Remedy of theſe Evils, 246
Toleration, 258
The Roman Catholics, 262
The Church of England, 272
Ancient Monaſteries, 318
The Puritans, 329
Quakers, 341
Moravians, 347
Methodiſts, 356
Freethinkers, 360
Jews, 363

A TOUR

OBSERVATIONS ON ENGLAND.

WHEN I ſet out from Paris, I took the road to Calais. I had hopes of ſeeing that town: the tragedy, whoſe ſubject it furniſhed, was then in the zenith of its glory. To be within ſight of Calais without viſiting ſo noted a place, would have been a neglect, which no Pariſian would have excuſed; and we ſhould endeavour to humour our friends in their innocent whims and fancies.

Though I was firmly reſolved not to neglect this opportunity, ſome very worthy people of Boulogne, to whom I was recommended, laid an embargo upon my equipage and upon my perſon: theſe charged themſelves with my paſſage to England. I ſtayed a few days with them to wait till the tempeſtuous March weather had ſomewhat ſubſided.

I made uſe of the opportunity of my ſtay to take a view of the city of Boulogne and its port, which my hoſts maintained to be the Portus Iccius of Cæſar. In ſupport of this their aſſertion they alledge three authorities, of the greater ſeeming weight, as they are unconnected with any domeſtic intereſt; I mean thoſe of Cluverius, Bergier, and the learned Joſeph Scaliger *.

The preſent port of Boulogne is formed by the mouth of a little river, which running from South to Weſt offers a place of ſhelter and ſecurity under the hills which border its left ſide. The loftieſt of theſe hills at once commands the port and the coaſt. There are to be ſeen there the remains of a fort, which the inhabitants of that country call *le Caſtillon*. As you paſs the port, this hill forms a natural mole, which breaks the waves driven on it by the South wind: on the right, the coaſt is defended againſt the North-winds by a bank, which runs weſtward about two hundred paces into the ſea. Upon the ridge of this bank are to be ſeen the remains of a tower, raiſed by Caligula, to ſerve as a light-houſe and a place of defence to the harbour, the ancient impor-

* He expreſſes himſelf thus, in his notes upon Cæſar's Commentaries: *Delirant qui Iccium Portum aliud volunt eſſe à navali Bononienſi: multa adverſus eorum pertinaciam objici poſſunt. Qui Iccium Portum Calais eſſe putant, à Ptolæmeo refelluntur, qui priùs ponit Iccium, inde Geſſoriacum à quo Calais diſtat plusquam 20 mill. paſſ. hoc eſt leucis Belgicis ſeptem.* "Thoſe talk idly who maintain the Portus Iccius to be any thing different from the port of Boulogne: "much may be ſaid to refute what they aſſert thus obſtinately. "Thoſe who take the Portus Iccius to be Calais are refuted by "Ptolemy, who places Iccius firſt, then Geſſoriacum, from which "Calais is diſtant above twenty thouſand paces, that is, ſeven "Belgic leagues." In a memorial inſerted in the xxviiith vol. of the Academy of Belles Lettres, M. Danville places the Portus Iccius at Wiſſend. Meaſures taken with the utmoſt exactneſs, and calculations ſuited to thoſe meaſures, are the baſis of this memorial, in which the learned geographer conſiders as a ſtanding pool the arm of the ſea, which ſeparates the Boulognois from England.

tance

tance of which is evident from the manner in which it is built *. A quarry injudiciouſly opened under the foundations of this tower, laid them open to the influx of the waves, which, by ſapping them imperceptibly, at laſt overthrew the edifice: part of the building has rolled down into the ſea in enormous pieces, which neither the air nor the water, to the action of which they have been ſucceſſively expoſed, have been able to wear away.

Formerly the port reached about a league up in the country, where it extended itſelf in different windings. There is ſtill to be ſeen upon one of theſe windings, which is at preſent filled up, and croſſed by the king's high road, a chapel to which in the tenth or eleventh century was brought a picture of our lady, which the inhabitants received with great fervour; and this has been amply recompenced by the money inceſſantly ariſing from the devotion of the ſailors to this image.

In 1478, Lewis the XIth conſecrated to this image of our lady the county of Boulogne in full ſovereignty, after having diſmembered it from the county of Artois. He thereby delivered the kings his ſucceſſors from the diſagreeable neceſſity of holding this county of a foreign power or an enemy, in caſe the county of Artois, upon which that of Boulogne depended, ſhould happen to be diſmembered from the crown of France.

The land that lay behind the port is occupied by a village, which as well as its territory goes by the

* This was called *Tour d'Ordre*, and perhaps originally *Tour d'Ardre*, on account of the lanthorn at the top of it. In 1545 it made a part of the fortifications of the town of Boulogne, and Henry the VIIIth availed himſelf of it againſt the efforts made by the French to diſturb him in his new conqueſt. See the laſt book of the Mem. of Langey.

name of Ixe. The inhabitants of Boulogne add this denomination to the authorities, upon which they found the identity of their port with the Portus Iccius of Cæsar. From hence would arise a complete demonstration, if the name of Ixe, which I have not been able to discover, had not been given to this village since the time that different ports of Picardy have disputed with each other the honour of being the Portus Iccius of the ancients.

The inhabitants of Boulogne maintain likewise, that under the Romans, and till the time of the English being established at that town, the mouth of their port was under the *Castillon*, and that the sea then entering it directly, the current, which was the more strong on account of that situation, hurried along with it all the sand that was left by the river.

The English having possessed themselves of Boulogne, were not able to add Castillon to their conquest: that fort and the whole territory on the left side of the port continued subject to France. The English, that they might be masters in their part of the town, filled up the ancient mouth, and opened a new one, the disadvantageous position of which has imperceptibly blocked up and obstructed a port, which the sea neither enters, nor retires from, except by rebounds after dashing against the great bank.

To preserve or rather to restore to France a port of the highest value on account of its situation, nothing more would be necessary than to clear that of Boulogne, and open its ancient mouth: in that state it will be of a sufficient extent even for the royal navy; it will likewise be able to clear itself. In a word, a harbour as secure as extensive may be given it, by lengthening, in a line parallel to the bank upon the

the right, the natural mole which the promontory of Caſtillon preſents to the view on the left.

Nothing more is required than to reſtore that balance between the river and the ſea, which nature eſtabliſhed, and which the Engliſh have interrupted by opening the preſent mouth. What is here propoſed is to aſſiſt nature, and not to force it, as has been done at Dunkirk. In the firſt caſe expences are circumſcribed, they have certain limits ſet to them: in the ſecond they have none, but money is for the moſt part laviſhed at random.

In travelling from Paris to Boulogne, the banks of the Oyſe exhibited to my view a phænomenon, the ſight of which it was impoſſible not to be ſurprized at. Theſe banks and the remainder of Picardy preſent to the eye a race of men and women, who do not bear the leaſt reſemblance to the people in the neighbourhood of Paris. All of them in general, men and women, are of advantageous ſtature: even the village-girls themſelves have a ruddineſs of complexion and a plumpneſs, which is not elſewhere to be found in perſons of that rank: the complexion of ſhepherdeſſes has all the freſhneſs, which paſtoral poetry aſcribes to it: age impairs this freſhneſs, without totally deſtroying it.

When we take a nearer view of the people of this country, and examine them with attention, we diſcover with aſtoniſhment that they are in general differently ſhaped from the inhabitants of Paris, and of the provinces ſituated to the Eaſt and to the South of the metropolis. The ſhoulders and hips, ſunk at their junctures, decline from the ſquare form: the fleſhy parts, without prejudice to their firmneſs, being gently lengthened, deviate from the ſpherical form in the ſame proportion. Almoſt all the inhabitants of Picardy are ſhaped according to this mo-

del, which is likewiſe found in England, and of which Beaumont ſhewed me the firſt example.

This town was the firſt place of the ancient Belgic Gaul upon the road which I travelled. It appeared altogether ſurprizing to me, that this part of the kingdom ſhould be farther diſtinguiſhed from Celtic Gaul by marks ſo little liable to be miſtaken.

It is eaſy to conceive, that the uſe of beer, cyder, perry, and rural labours, of which the cultivation of vineyards makes no part in Picardy, may occaſion in the blood and the whole habit of body, a freſhneſs which manifeſts itſelf in the complexion: but how can we account for this ſenſible difference in the manner in which bodies and their moſt remarkable parts are formed?

PASSAGE TO ENGLAND.

On Thurſday the 11th of April, 1765, I embarked at Boulogne in the ſloop commanded by Captain Meriton, whoſe buſineſs during the whole year is to carry over in bottles, from Boulogne to Dover, or even to London itſelf, the French wine drunk by the Engliſh. In conſequence of this management, they pay only in proportion to the conſumption, the great duties with which that wine is loaded. Before and after the equinox the channel was in a conſtant agitation, and that agitation detained in the ports of England ſuch Engliſh veſſels as were juſt ready to ſail. It had thrown into theſe ſame ports, and into thoſe of Flanders and Holland, the Dutch, Swediſh and Daniſh veſſels which had been ſurprized by bad weather at ſea: in fine, by ſhutting up the ports of France, it had long detained a great number of paſſengers, whom buſineſs or curioſity called over to England.

The

The wind not being yet ſettled, Captain Meriton nevertheleſs would compute the time that he thought the paſſage would take him; but ſcarce were we in open ſea, when the wind veered about to an oppoſite point; this circumſtance occaſioned in the captain's calculation a miſtake of three hours, which we paſſed at anchor. Being in ſight of the coaſt of England, we ſailed upon a very rough ſea, and in a ſad ſituation for perſons little uſed to that element, till the tide ſhould enable us to enter the port of Dover.

The agitation of the ſea had in other reſpects the uſual effect upon the paſſengers on board, amongſt whom were four women: it without ceaſing operated as the moſt violent emetic upon them all, eſpecially upon the latter.

I now found by experience the truth of what I had heard advanced by a captain of a veſſel in the navy of France; namely, that the inhabitants of the inland part of the kingdom are much ſooner inured to the ſea than thoſe of the maritime provinces. Fear, no doubt, in ſome meaſure contributes to the effect produced by the ſea: now this fear muſt be exceeding ſtrong in perſons, who from their very infancy have heard of nothing but ſhipwrecks, of which they are often themſelves eye-witneſſes. An inhabitant of the inland provinces on the contrary has heard of ſhipwrecks only at a diſtance, and looks upon them as exceptions to the general laws of navigation. The firſt time he ſees the ſea, a ſhip is to him not ſo much an object of terror as of curioſity; and a view of the ocean leaves no room in his ſoul, except to the admiration excited by the object moſt capable of anſwering the idea that a man can form to himſelf of immenſity.

In this happy diſpoſition, fortified by reſignation to death, which ought to be the firſt care of all who undertake voyages of curioſity, I did not take ſo much notice of the roughneſs of the ocean, as of the addreſs and activity of the pilot and ſailors: almoſt continually upon deck, I enjoyed a ſight as extraordinary as amazing by means of a fine night.

The veſſels ſhut up in the ports of France, England, &c. had availed themſelves of the ſubſiding of the agitation abovementioned, to get clear of the harbours in which they had been confined, and to continue their voyage. We made our way through the midſt of them in hoiſting ſail, and they ſailed round us whilſt we were at anchor. The quantity of theſe veſſels of all ſorts was prodigious, the channel ſeemed to be covered over with them: nothing but my ignorance of the method of working a ſhip emboldened me againſt the danger which we ran every minute of being daſhed and ſhattered by the largeſt of them: they ſeemed to come down upon us full ſail; but ſuch care was taken both on their ſide and ours, that they at laſt paſſed ſo near us, that we could ſpeak to each other, and we mutually aſked whither we were bound, and wiſhed each other a good voyage.

Thoſe French veſſels which had been ſeveral days waiting at Calais, Dunkirk, &c. for the moment of their paſſage, arrived with us at Dover, which at that time ſwarmed with French. Three or four of theſe veſſels ran aground.

I had great reaſon to be pleaſed with the cuſtom-houſe officers in England. Theſe were two men, whom I at firſt glance took for beggars: they had the appearance of perſons of their ſtation, which in England is the loweſt and meaneſt of all. They came on board, and in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner aſked

aſked permiſſion to examine the contents of my trunk, which they opened, and retired with the utmoſt humility, without ſo much as ſearching my pockets, or even my linen-bag. It coſt me half a crown to get my effects from the cuſtom-houſe, where they had been left at my landing; but this is an old due, and not an exaction of the officers: it is called the Viſcounty-fee. The inn-keeper at whoſe houſe I lodged, was the receiver.

Dover has no other fortification but an ancient caſtle, which ſtands upon a promontory of chalk, cut through its center by the ſea. It has few other inhabitants but ſailors, ſea-faring people, and inn-keepers. *Differtum nautis, cauponibus atque malignis.*

I ſaw nothing remarkable, but the enormous ſize of the ſigns of the public houſes, the ridiculous magnificence of the ornaments with which they are overcharged, the height of a ſort of triumphal arches that ſupport them, and moſt of which croſs the ſtreets. I ſaw poſt-chaiſes ſet off, driven by little boys, who, as I was told, are excellent poſtillions.

The inns were entirely filled with Frenchmen; and their numbers were ſo conſiderable, that they could not all provide themſelves with carriages. I could get nothing to eat without going myſelf to the kitchen, to take beef ſteaks from the hot coals upon which they were broiling: there was no other ſort of victuals to be had. The ſole buſineſs of the cook was to be conſtantly blowing the ſea-coal, which was half extinguiſhed by the fat of the ſteaks, and to put new ſteaks in the place of thoſe which the people of the inn came ſucceſſively to ſnatch from off the gridiron. The ſervants of the houſe came to awake me at three o'clock in the morning, and to make me give up my bed to new comers: it is true,

I had

I had lain in it ever ſince ſix o'clock the preceding evening. Notwithſtanding all the rout they made, I kept my place, and did not quit the bed till five o'clock.

I had left Boulogne in the company of an Engliſh-woman, who uſually reſided in that town, and was going over to England with a very amiable daughter. This Engliſhwoman contrived, in concert with a tall old Iriſhman, who pretended to be an officer, and had made the paſſage with us, that I ſhould pay for them in part: in conſequence of this reſolution, twice as much was exacted from me as I ſhould have paid by right. I mention this little circumſtance, merely in order to obſerve, to the honour of the Engliſh, that it was the only trick ever put upon me in that kingdom. Every thing there is exceeding dear; but it is equally ſo to the Engliſh themſelves and to foreigners.

The plot laid by the Engliſh gentlewoman, the Iriſhman and the captain, was concerted in the Engliſh language, which I did not underſtand; but, as the loſs of one ſenſe is generally ſupplied by another *, I in ſome meaſure ſaw what I could not hear. Thus, during the time of my reſidence in England, I heard with the aſſiſtance of my eyes: a ſingle word was ſufficient to enable me to take the whole meaning of things, which often eſcaped the obſervation of thoſe who were not, like me, ignorant of the Engliſh language. I have ſeen ſeveral Frenchmen in the ſame perplexity, though they had ſtudied the Engliſh tongue with ſo much accuracy as to be able to underſtand even the poets of that nation: they were

* Rabelais, l. iv. c. 5, ſays in this ſenſe, that "Panurge, "ſince he began to make uſe of ſpectacles, heard much more "diſtinctly with his ears than before."

deaf

deaf and dumb with regard to the Engliſh language ſpoken in common converſation.

ROAD FROM DOVER TO LONDON.

THE great multitude of paſſengers with which Dover was then crowded, afforded a reaſon for diſpenſing with a law of the police, by which public carriages are in England forbid to travel on Sundays. I myſelf ſet out on a Sunday with ſeven more paſſengers in two carriages called flying machines. Theſe vehicles which are drawn by ſix horſes, go twenty-eight leagues in a day from Dover to London for a ſingle guinea. Servants are entitled to a place for half that money, either behind the coach, or upon the coach-box, which has three places. A vaſt repoſitory under this ſeat, which is very lofty, holds the paſſengers luggage, which is paid for ſeparately. The coachmen, whom we changed every time with our horſes, were luſty well-made men, dreſſed in good cloth. When they ſet off, or were for animating their horſes, I heard a ſort of periodical noiſe, reſembling that of a ſtick ſtriking againſt the nave of the fore-wheel. I have ſince diſcovered, that it is cuſtomary with the Engliſh coachmen, to give their horſes the ſignal for ſetting off by making this noiſe, and by beating their ſtools with their feet in cadence: they likewiſe uſe the ſame ſignal to make them mend their pace. The coach-whip, which is nothing elſe but a long piece of whalebone covered with hair, and with a ſmall cord at the end of it, is no more in their hands than the fan is in winter in the hand of a lady: it only ſerves them to make a ſhew with, as their horſes ſcarce ever feel it. I ſhall elſewhere give a more full

full and circumſtantial account of the great care and tenderneſs of the Engliſh in the treatment of their horſes.

As public carriages ſcarce ever travel on Sundays, we were a ſort of ſhew to the inhabitants of the ſeveral towns and places through which we paſſed; and from thence reſulted both advantages and diſadvantages to us.

1. We met with no cuſtom-houſe officers in the places where they are uſually poſted; this ſaved us a great deal of ſearching and viſiting.

2. It ſeemed moſt probable, that we ſhould meet none of thoſe gentry who are called collectors of the highway, and of whom there is a great number upon the road: in fact, we ſaw none of that ſort, but ſuch as were hanging upon gibbets at the road-ſide: there they dangle, dreſſed from head to foot, and with wigs upon their heads.

Theſe advantages were counterbalanced by two inconveniencies.

1. On account of the abſence of the cuſtom-houſe officers, care had been taken to fill the boxes of our carriages with cags of brandy, which we left at the inns upon the road, a circumſtance that cauſed us to ſtop ſeveral times. We were, however, comforted by the pleaſure of driving a contraband trade innocently, and by the good humour which this little commerce ſpread amongſt the coachmen and poſtillions.

2. Between Canterbury and Rocheſter the inhabitants of a village ſituated on the ſide of the highway had made choice of that day, on which the high road was to be free, to remove a windmill from the left to the right ſide of the road, to the place which ſeemed beſt ſuited to it. Now, as that country is very woody, the body of theſe mills is a ſort of a high cage,

cage, which receives the wind above the trees: this cage, which bears a ſtrong reſemblance to a bee-hive, conſiſts of a circular frame of wood, ſurrounded with a lattice rough-caſt with lime. That which was to be removed, having the form of a cone thirty feet high, with a diameter of twelve or fourteen feet, moved on in a hollow way which we were then travelling in, and which it filled: twenty or thirty men, ſome of whom dragged it along with cords, the remainder puſhing it on with their hands, advanced ſlowly; and, as it had twenty fathom length of road ſtill to go, we had but little hopes of ſoon getting rid of it: coachmen, poſtillions, paſſengers, all preſent, alighted, and joined thoſe who pulled or puſhed it on: after about an hour's labour, we reached a part of the road, where the ſlope, which bordered one of its ſides, was leaſt ſteep; this ſlope was made level, and lengthened out by the pick-ax: at laſt the carriages reached the ridge of the road with the help of cords, which entered the body of each carriage and the coach-box. All the Frenchmen preſent laughed heartily at the adventure, but this had not the leaſt effect upon the flegmatic temper of the Engliſh: both young and old talked of many different expedients to get rid of us: at laſt, they went about the work in good earneſt, diſengaged our carriages, and reſumed their buſineſs with all the ſerioufneſs of men who had paſſed their lives in removing windmills.

Upon our way to Canterbury, where we quickly arrived, I had for ſome time perceived that I was no longer in France. A fat man, who was juſt got out of bed, ſtood at a bow-window during the whole time we were waiting for a change of horſes, which delay was the more conſiderable, becauſe we were not expected. All this while the fat man abovementioned,

in

in his night-gown and velvet cap, contemplated us with his arms acroſs, and without once changing his attitude, ſtirring, or knitting his brow, with an expreſſion of melancholy in his face, which in France is to be ſeen only in the countenances of thoſe who have juſt buried their deareſt friend. The like expreſſion was obſervable in the faces of the young perſons of both ſexes, who, to have the better opportunity of viewing us, had fixed themſelves in the middle of the ſtreet, with the ſame immobility of their arms, legs, eyes and all their features.

The country which we travelled through from Dover to London, is in general a bad mixture of ſand and chalk. We ſkirted ſome lofty woods, as well furniſhed as the beſt-ſtocked foreſts of France. They belong to the archbiſhop and the chapter of Canterbury. We paſſed over commons covered with heath and ſtrong broom very high, which flouriſh the whole year round. Theſe wild ſhrubs are left to the uſe of the poor of the ſeveral different pariſhes: but their vigour and thickneſs give reaſon to conjecture, that there are but few poor in theſe pariſhes. The beſt lands along the road were laid out in hop-grounds; and the hops, being nearly grown, twined about poles of twelve or fifteen feet high.

We met with ſome pariſh churches of ancient conſtruction, terminated in a platform, with battlements on each ſide. Theſe battlements ſhew that the churches, which are adorned with them, have the rights and privileges of the manor, and that the manor is united to the cure of ſouls. They could not ſatisfy me whether this reunion reached the early ages, or if it was a diſmembering of the lordſhips which belonged to the monks, when they were baniſhed out of England*.

* Amongſt the Normans the fund of the beneſices and of all the cures was a noble fund, part of which the incumbent or pro-

The high roads, which, like all thoſe of England, had been ruined during the civil wars, and entirely neglected till the reign of George the ſecond, were then taken into conſideration by the parliament. Being covered with powdered flint ſtones, they are kept in perfect repair, though in England neither the duty of average nor the proper art of raiſing cauſeways are known *.

It muſt be acknowledged, that the expence for keeping them in repair is not ſo conſiderable as elſewhere: In England the ſea ſupplies the principal means of tranſporting goods of all ſorts. The repairing of the high roads is at the expence of thoſe who uſe them: and turnpikes or barriers are ſhut againſt the carriages; where they pay the price ſettled by a tariff fixed up, according to the number of horſes which draw them. Neither rank nor dignity is exempted from theſe payments: the king himſelf is ſubject to them; and the turnpike would be ſhut againſt his equipage, if ſome of his officers did not pay the money before his paſſing. From London to Richmond, the uſual place of his reſidence, his paſſage is compounded, which is a ſpecial favour conferred upon him; but it is not compounded for the whole year, he pays every quarter. Theſe tolls eſtabliſhed in the firſt ages of the monarchy, were afterwards ſettled in fee, as well as thoſe of France, and became private property; but the parliament has reſtored them to their firſt deſtination, and every day eſtabliſhes new tolls with the appellation of turn-

prietor might give as an arriere-fief. It was not till the reign of Henry the IVth, that his ſucceſſors were authorized to claim theſe diſmembered juriſdictions. See the 643d Conſtit. of Littleton, and articles 142 and 157 of the Reformed Cuſtoms of Normandy.

* After a detail of the immenſe works executed by Veſpaſian to reſtore the high roads, Cornelius Victor adds: *tot tantaque brevi confecta, intactis cultoribus.*

pikes.

pikes. The ſame end has been compaſſed in France by different means.

The high roads have all along a little bank raiſed above them, and two or three feet broad, with a row of poſts on each ſide, whoſe tops are whitened that they may be ſeen during the night by the drivers of carriages. This is for the conveniency of thoſe that walk afoot. In places where the narrowneſs of the ground is unfavourable to this arrangement, the proprietors of adjoining lands are obliged to give a paſſage through their fields, which are all incloſed with ſtrong hedges. The communications of theſe paſſages, as well as of thoſe around the villages, are formed by hurdles of about four feet high: paſſengers muſt partly leap and partly climb over them. Cuſtom has habituated the village girls to this exerciſe, in which they acquit themſelves with as much gracefulneſs as agility.

This great attention of the Engliſh to the conveniency of thoſe who walk on foot has ſeveral cauſes: 1. They ſet the higheſt value upon the lives of their fellow-creatures, and to this circumſtance they ſacrifice many others which might contribute to pleaſure and conveniency. 2. Their laws are not made and executed entirely by perſons who always ride in their chariots. 3. As the Engliſh carriages move as ſwiftly in the country as ſlowly in town, the meeting with perſons that walk on foot, and the fear of cruſhing them, neither diminiſhes nor croſſes this headlong impetuoſity.

The high roads are very far from being exactly rectilineal; not but that there are engineers in England ſkilful enough to draw a right line acroſs a field; but, beſides that the dearneſs of land requires ſome caution, property is in England a thing ſacred, which the laws protect from all encroachment, not only from

from engineers, inſpectors, and other people of that ſtamp, but even from the king himſelf: add to this, that, as we ſhall find in the article of gardens, the right line is not to the taſte of the Engliſh.

The farmhouſes, which are ſituated on the ſide of the high roads, or near them, being built of brick, and covered with tiles, have glaſs windows, that are kept in the moſt exact order. The barns are likewiſe built of brick: there are only a few miſerable ones thatched. The appearance is as comfortable within as without. We met a conſiderable number of carriages loaded with corn and hay, which were going to the ports. Each of the drivers (who were all either labourers or huſbandmen) dreſſed in good cloth, a warm great coat upon his back, and good boots on his legs, rode upon a little nag; he had a long whip in his hand to drive his team; the horſes were vigorous and in good plight, and drew with ſtrong chains inſtead of traces. England however has no perſons, who are by profeſſion occupied for the good of the ſtate: the wealth of the country people is the reſult of their own induſtry. Public authority deems it ſufficient to animate and encourage it: the magiſtrates would think they limited induſtry, if they undertook to direct it.

The Engliſh have ſuch a method of managing their hay, that they ſave the expence of buildings, erected in other countries in order to preſerve it. They mow for the firſt time in the month of May: the ſolſtitial rains, which are ſeldom wanted in England, give riſe to a ſecond harveſt, followed by a third, when the autumn is favourable; which happens very frequently. Theſe two or three harveſts yield in all only a little hay, weak and ſupple. The country people heap it up in an haycock in their farm-yards. By its fineneſs, and the humidity

of the air to which it is expoſed, it is maſticated in ſome meaſure, and formed into a body, which is cut into perpendicular portions, larger or ſmaller as they want them for conſumption or ſale.

This hay, whoſe maſtication and digeſtion is infinitely eaſier than that of hay which comes to maturity upon the ground, is at the ſame time much leſs ſubſtantial: two thirds of a ration of Paris hay are ſufficient for an Engliſh horſe. Notwithſtanding this great diſproportion, and the additional number of hands required to ſuch work, together with the little value of meadows which are mowed almoſt during the whole year, to maintain the large and ſmall cattle; and notwithſtanding there reſults from thence to the proprietors a neceſſity of leaving a conſiderable part of their meadows for paſturing cattle, beſides the immenſe commons ſet apart for this purpoſe, ſtill the Engliſh think they are very much the gainers; becauſe their meadows, when thus cultivated, prove of greater ſervice to them, and becauſe, independent of this gain, the horſes that are fed with this hay are better in health, ſubject to fewer diſeaſes, and retain their lightneſs and vigour longer. Now, they maintain that hay is made for horſes, and not horſes for hay: a way of reaſoning that may be extended to a thouſand articles, which they decide dogmatically according to this analogy.

From Rocheſter to London, in a proſpect moderately diſtant, is to be ſeen on the right the Thames, whoſe banks, covered with the moſt florid verdure, are planted in an irregular manner with very high trees. Sloops, merchant-ſhips, and firſt-rate men of war aſcend and deſcend in a majeſtic manner upon the river, their maſts and ſails being agreeably confounded with the boughs of trees along the ſhore.

The

The towns and villages upon the road have excellent inns, but ſomewhat dear; at theſe an Engliſh lord is as well ſerved as at his own houſe, and with a cleanlineſs much to be wiſhed for in moſt of the beſt houſes of France. The innkeeper makes his appearance only to do the honours of his table to the greateſt perſonages, who often invite him to dine with them. This man, who is ſometimes the moſt important perſonage in the neighbourhood, is a ſort of miniſter of ſtate, and is generally let into the ſecrets of the aſſemblies held in his houſe for the elections of members of parliament. Inns and innkeepers are upon this footing in England, becauſe the noblemen of that country, in their frequent excurſions, generally making uſe of hired horſes to draw their poſt-chaiſes, pique themſelves upon paying in a manner worthy of their quality, and becauſe the Engliſh in general are of opinion, that upon the road œconomy may be neglected. But in France the poſt has ruined the inns, ſince it is become cuſtomary for the nobility, the military and the merchants, to travel by this convenience, and they have thought it a mark of diſtinction. On the whole road from Paris to Boulogne, I never met with more than one inn, which could come in competition with the Engliſh, ſuch as they are at preſent, and ſuch as thoſe of France were formerly: the inn I mean is that of Montreuil. It is therefore a received cuſtom amongſt the Engliſh, both on their way to Paris, and when they return home, not to paſs by Montreuil; many of them even make ſome ſtay there, to taſte the good wine, and enjoy the civil treatment which one meets with in that town. Theſe conveniences begin likewiſe now to be adopted in Spain: if they meet

with the ſame ſucceſs as in France, we ſhould make haſte to avail ourſelves of the inſtitution.

Upon my arrival at Canterbury, I was ſhewed the inn, where the duke of Nivernois met with ſuch cruel uſage upon his coming into England, to negociate the laſt peace. For his ſupper and that of his retinue, which was by no means numerous, the unconſcionable inn-keeper had exacted forty or fifty guineas, and the duke paid them. The indiſcreet inn-keeper boaſted of this impoſition; but the gentry of Canterbury and the county of Kent, who held their aſſembly at his houſe, adviſed the duke to proſecute the man for extortion. The duke having, in the moſt poſitive manner, refuſed to ſue for any ſatisfaction, the gentry, in the name of the nation, took upon them to revenge his cauſe, which they did in the manner following. They entered into an engagement, to hold their aſſembly no longer at that inn, but to remove to another houſe. This reſolution and theſe motives having been promulged in the public papers, all the Engliſh gentlemen who happened to travel through Canterbury, thought themſelves bound in honour to accede to the agreement. The inn being thus deſerted, the inn-keeper was ruined in the courſe of ſix months, and turned out of the houſe, after having ſeen all his goods ſold to ſatisfy his creditors, who had likewiſe entered into the combination againſt him.

There is nothing remarkable at Canterbury, but the Cathedral, built in the ſame taſte, at the ſame time, and perhaps by the ſame artiſts who built that of Rouen *.

* Its conſtruction is in the form of an archiepiſcopal croſs, that is, it has two croſſes which cut its breadth. This Gothic refinement has nothing great or pleaſing in it. See the ſubſequent article of Architecture.

In

In Rocheſter there is but one ſtreet, about a mile in length, chiefly inhabited by ſailors, carpenters and workmen belonging to the royal navy. The navy has its principal dock at Chatham, which is adjoining to Rocheſter at the mouth of the river Medway. This river runs from South to North through the city of Rocheſter, under a long, well-built bridge. As the tide was coming in when we paſſed this bridge, I at firſt imagined that the river which we were croſſing was the Thames itſelf.

I had the happineſs to have for companion in this journey, Mr. Chaſtanier, ſon to a principal clerk of the town-houſe at Paris. After having purſued his ſtudies with ſucceſs in France, chance fixed him in London, where he practices ſurgery with great reputation, to which, according to the cuſtom of England, are added chemiſtry and pharmacy. He was returning from Paris, with a load of drugs, books and prints.

I had reached Boulogne with a young Engliſhman from Newcaſtle, who had purſued his ſtudies and attended lectures at Paris in the ſame profeſſion, with an intention to ſettle in London. He happened to have with him a young Engliſh gentleman of the ſame age with himſelf, who was an half-pay officer in the Britiſh infantry. This officer coming to Paris with two hundred guineas, in order to paſs a month there, without any letter of recommendation or any knowledge of the French language, was now upon his return to England, following the common carriage on foot, with nothing but the coat upon his back. His brown frock, and his hair, which he wore very ſhort, gave him the air of a French abbé, and we conferred that title on him. He hovered about the carriage, marched with the military ſtep, went through the exerciſe, and ſpoke

to all that paſſed by with an air of familiarity, which left him when he happened to meet an Engliſhman; then he conſtantly burſt out into tears. The young ſurgeon knew neither this officer nor his family: he had little more money than was abſolutely neceſſary to defray the charges of his own journey, yet he was willing to help his countryman to pay his way. All the paſſengers were ready to contribute to this good work; and whenever there was a vacant place in the carriage, it was given to the abbé. He would go with me to Boulogne. I was preſent when this officer took leave of his generous countryman, who was called by particular buſineſs to Dunkirk: mixing his tears with thoſe of his friend, the ſurgeon ſhared with him the ſmall ſum of money, which he had left to bear his charges, at the hazard of wanting before he got to London. After having paſſed a month in that city, I there received a viſit from the young ſurgeon: he had not then ſeen his fellow-traveller: *even if I were never to ſee him again*, ſaid he, *I ſhould not repent having charitably aſſiſted a countryman in diſtreſs.* This is not the only example I have met with of benevolence and generoſity in England, where thoſe virtues are to be found in perſons of all ranks and conditions of life.

I arrived in London towards the cloſe of day. Though the ſun was ſtill above the horizon, the lamps were already lighted upon Weſtminſter bridge, and upon the road and ſtreets that lead to it. Theſe ſtreets, are broad, regular and lined with high houſes, forming the moſt beautiful quarter of London. The river covered with boats of different ſizes, the road, the bridge and the ſtreets filled with coaches, their broad foot-paths crowded with people, offered to my eye ſuch a ſight as Paris would preſent, if I were to enter it by the fineſt ſtreets of the Fauxbourgh St.

St. Germain or of the Place Vendome, ſuppoſing thoſe quarters of the town to be as much frequented by the common people as by perſons of quality.

I happened to lodge near Leiceſter Fields, at one Mr. Martin's, belonging to the king's kitchen. This quarter of the town is in the neighbourhood of Weſtminſter, and conſiſts of ſeveral ſmall houſes two ſtories high, which belong to one principal landlord. He lets out to ſtrangers the apartments, which are very ſlightly furniſhed, and conſiſt of two or three little rooms in the firſt ſtory, at the rate of a guinea a week, and in the ſecond of about half a guinea. Scarce has the landlord any part of theſe lodgings rent-free, ſo dear are houſes in London.

Mr. Martin was born in France, near Chaumont in Baſſigni. Having quitted the French army to ſerve in the kitchin of the duke of Cumberland, and afterwards in that of the king, he married the daughter of an officer of Dauphine, who had retired to England, at the time of the revocation of the edict of Nantz; that officer was ſtill alive.

My landlord, landlady, and their children, ſpoke Engliſh and French with equal fluency; this was a great advantage to me, not indeed in helping me to learn the language, for no man of ſenſe meddles with foreign languages after forty, but in ſatisfying my curioſity with regard to a thouſand little circumſtances, which Engliſh people unacquainted with the French tongue could never have explained to me.

The day after my arrival, having attentively examined the map of London, I ventured alone and on foot through that great capital. From Oxford-road I went down into Holborn, and from thence to the Strand, which conducted me to St. Paul's, the Royal Exchange, and beyond. I paſſed through Southwark to Weſtminſter, after having followed for a-

bove a league the high road which runs along Lambeth, by the prettieſt public houſes about London. I took this road, becauſe I did not perceive the croſs-ſtreet which joins it with Weſtminſter-bridge. This is the only miſtake I committed in that grand excurſion, which took up my whole day, as may very eaſily be imagined: having thus fixed certain points to direct me in my future walks, I was enabled to go about every where without perplexity or doubt. Such an excurſion as this to the quarters lately built north-weſt of the Thames, ſoon made me know London thoroughly.

THE THAMES.

Excepting theſe new quarters, London has only a firſt view to recommend it, and it is indebted for that to the Thames. That river, as we arrive at it, runs from South to North, and in that direction has Weſtminſter and Whitehall to the left; afterwards turning from Weſt to Eaſt, it flows alongſide of London, the whole length of which is at leaſt equal to that of Paris taking it from Charanton to Chaillot. Whitehall, which ſtands at the head of this almoſt boundleſs canal, ſeems by its poſition to ſhew itſelf the palace of a ſovereign poſſeſſed of

——— *imperium pelagi ſævumque tridentem.*

I ſaid that the Thames flows alongſide of London; for oppoſite to Weſtminſter it has only the country, in which are ſcattered up and down pleaſure-houſes and agreeable gardens, the number of which increaſes every day. Oppoſite to London, it has only Southwark, a quarter of the town ill-built, having but two ſtreets in its breadth, and almoſt entirely occupied by tanners and weavers: this is a ſuburb,

with

with which till our days the city had very little communication, except by means of London-bridge.

This bridge was one of the boldeſt undertakings that an architect could form a plan of and execute in the age in which it was built: but, though ſome of the arches have ſince been enlarged, it forms a barrier which prevents ſhips from aſcending where they might find the Thames navigable, that is to ſay, as far as the elbow which it makes at Whitehall; and this barrier will be increaſed by the new bridge, which is now building between the old one and that of Weſtminſter. If the upper part of the bed of the Thames is leſs deep than it was formerly, it is a conſequence of that barrier, which, checking the impetuoſity of the current, has in that place facilitated the inſenſible elevation of the channel.

Above Whitehall, and the elbow there formed by the Thames, ſtands Weſtminſter-bridge, built in the laſt reign, to which it is a monument of glory unequalled in all Europe.

Below the old bridge, the Thames forms the port of London: a port of great extent; a ſecure port for ſhipping, where the largeſt veſſels come to load and unload; in fine, a port which, by the prodigious concourſe of ſhips of all ſorts, that arrive there or ſail from thence inceſſantly to every part of the world, and by the number of men employed aboard theſe veſſels, forms a great and opulent city. It was with a view to this affluence, and the riches it brings in to the city of London, an alderman anſwered James the Firſt, who in one of his capricious moods threatened to remove the ſeat of royalty, the archives of the crown, &c. from the capital: *Your majeſty will, at leaſt, be graciouſly pleaſed to leave us the river Thames.*

Not-

Notwithſtanding the great conveniency of the old bridge, which will be doubled by that now building at Black-friars, it will be always to be regretted, that the port of London does not extend to Whitehall. How greatly would this facilitate the loading and unloading of veſſels! what room for the circulation! how grand and noble a proſpect! All things compared and weighed, we might juſtly regret that London is not like Rouen incapacitated to have a ſtone bridge, and under a neceſſity of building only bridges of boats. It requires a vaſt expence to keep theſe laſt in repair; but is it equal to the intereſts of the ſums ſunk upon the erecting of ſtone bridges? A few individuals, who compoſe the committees for the latter, are enriched by them: keeping the others in repair employs a multitude of citizens, and puts them in a way of earning their daily bread. The preference in favour of bridges of boats ſeemed to be agreeable to that ſpirit of calculation, which is the actuating principle of the city of London, and has ſuch great influence upon the Engliſh government. It certainly did not prevail in England at the time that London-bridge was built: it was indiſpenſably neceſſary to eſtabliſh a communication, and the engineers of that age could effect that purpoſe only by the means of fixed bridges.

The chief ornament which London derives from the Thames, it is indebted for to nature alone: human induſtry, far from contributing to increaſe or ſhew it to advantage, ſeems to exert itſelf only to deſtroy or conceal it. I am ſpeaking of quays, which have been wanting ever ſince the building of London. All poſſible meaſures have been taken to conceal the proſpect of this fine river, and the paſſages that lead to it: in a word, throughout the

whole metropolis of London, the Thames, as much confined as the Seine was formerly at Paris, and as it is ſtill between the bridge of Notre-dame and the Change-bridge, has no other communication with the city for the loading and unloading of goods, but by ſtairs or wharfs, which are regularly ſhut except they are at work, which remain ſhut both Sundays and holidays, and which, in fine, form ſo many gutters to carry off the waters and filth of the city.

The ſpacious canal formed by the Thames might preſent us with as noble and ſtriking an object as the great canal of Venice, lined with palaces of the moſt ſumptuous magnificence, and the moſt pleaſing variety, and which have upon that canal their principal front: but the banks of the Thames are occupied by tanners, dyers, and other manufacturers, who there have an opportunity of eaſily ſupplying themſelves with water. The ſtreets where theſe manufactures are carried on, are the dirtieſt in the city: in fine, the bridges have no proſpect of the river, except through a baluſtrade of ſtone, with a rail of modillions three feet high, very maſſy, and faſtened cloſe to each other; the whole terminated by a very heavy cornice, and forming a pile of building of about ten feet in heighth. The old bridge was about twenty years ago covered with houſes, as the bridge of Notre-Dame at Paris is to this day; upon clearing it of theſe houſes, it has been railed with modillions after this manner: Weſtminſter-bridge itſelf is built upon the ſame plan. In a word, in the firſt excurſion which I made in order to take a ſurvey of London, I could not have a full view of the Thames, either on the ſide of the city, or on that of Southwark, unleſs I entered the houſes and manufactories, which ſtand cloſe to the river.

The

The reaſon which ſome aſſign for this is, the natural bent of the Engliſh, and in particular of the people of London, to ſuicide. It muſt be owned, that above and below London, the banks of the river, entirely unencumbered by buildings, offer a fine opportunity to thoſe who have an inclination to drown themſelves: but the length of the way thither, and the conſequent opportunity of reflecting, are circumſtances moſt likely to prevent ſuch miſchief. It ſhould, moreover, be conſidered, that imaginations, ſtruck with a ſort of enthuſiaſm, glory in publicly encountering death.

Taſte ſhould never be diſputed: but if this odd and extravagant taſte of the Engliſh owed its riſe to the melancholy which predominates in their conſtitutions, the ſame cauſe muſt produce the ſame effect amongſt the Italians: and it would be ſo much the more ſure to produce that effect, as the melancholy of the latter is, in proportion to the climate, more glowing and more exalted than that of the Engliſh. Suicide, however, is not the favourite ſin of the Italians: I never heard of more than one inſtance of that nature at Rome, which was looked upon as ſomething extraordinary. A Roman met, in broad day-light, at the entrance of Sixtus's bridge, one of his friends, whoſe diſordered countenance and wild looks gave juſt grounds to apprehend that he was meditating ſome fatal deſign. His friend accoſted him, and, by dint of queſtions, brought him at laſt to acknowledge, that he had formed a poſitive reſolution to leap from the top of the bridge into the Tiber. As no arguments appeared of ſufficient force to make him change his reſolution: *Do not yield entirely to deſpair*, ſaid his friend to him, *but rather turn Capuchin. I turn Capuchin!* replied he; *I am not quite ſo deſpe-*

deſperate neither. This ſaid, he eſcaped from his friend, and put his purpoſe in execution.

Whether the great love which the Engliſh have for the water has its foundation in nature, or whether faſhion, and the deſire of being talked of have a great influence in the affair, the architect of the new bridge, which is building at Black-friars, has thought it adviſeable to encloſe it only with a ſingle rail, and that high enough to lean upon: that is to ſay, he uſes the ſame method with the Londoners, as thoſe have recourſe to with children, who think that the beſt method to cure them of liquoriſhneſs is, to leave comfits and ſweatmeats at their diſcretion. The compariſon that this will give occaſion to, muſt make the railing of the other bridges appear as ridiculous as it is in fact. If the people of London do not abuſe this conveniency, perhaps the number of the drowned will not exceed that of the uſual contingencies, one year with another. They will then proceed by degrees to clear the river, to open communications with it, and in fine, to border it with quays, in the very body of which, it will be an eaſy matter to contrive proper places for loading and unloading. Theſe quays being once opened, the firſt noblemen, the wealthieſt merchants, the richeſt of thoſe who undertake to fit out privateers, allured, ſome of them by the grand and noble proſpect, others by the conveniency of commerce, will come to build upon the banks of the Thames, in emulation of each other; and that river will at laſt be as much frequented as it deſerves. Then the improvement of London will reſemble that of Lyons. So long as Lyons was confined to the quarter of Fourviere, its conſtruction prevented it from having a view of either the Saone or the Rhone, which its firſt founders endeavoured to procure. Since it deſcended to the confluence, the

quays,

quays, which it has opened itſelf upon both rivers, have given it all the advantages that might reſult from its ſituation, the principal of which is, being out of danger of the contagion of the plague and other epidemical diſorders, by a free circulation of air.

Such are with regard to the city of London the views and hopes of the architect of the new bridge, as he explained them to me himſelf. *I will even leave them*, added he, *a model of what they are capable of doing in this way, by joining my bridge to the old one by a quay, ſo that there will be nothing more to do but to continue it, when reaſon has at laſt overcome old prejudices.*

However, to juſtify the Engliſh by an example borrowed from their neighbours, he ſpoke to me with aſtoniſhment of the obſtinacy of the city of Rouen, in preſerving that infamous rampart; which, ſeparating it in its whole length from the Seine, deprives it of the communication and ſight of that river. The deſtruction of this rampart would contribute as much to the conveniency of commerce, as to the embelliſhment of the city, both by the direct communication which it would open between it and the port, and by the houſes that all men of fortune would be eager to build upon the quay, which in the ſame direction with the Louvre at Paris would be in proportion ſuſceptible of the ſame magnificence. But the Engliſh architect did not know that Rouen is kept in this ſtate of conſtraint, by the facility which it procures the farmers general in receiving the duties of the port.

The bridge which this architect is building has not yet received a name: ſome are for calling it Pitt's bridge, from the preſent Engliſh Demoſthenes: thoſe in the party oppoſite to Mr. Pitt are for calling it *Black-*

Black-friars-bridge *, from a monaſtery that had been demoliſhed in the place which it occupies. Whatever may be its name, it will ſurpaſs even Weſtminſter bridge in boldneſs and in the magnificence of its decorations. It was to have been built in five years, during each of which the parliament aſſigned the architect 300 guineas. Various accidents and obſtructions have protracted the building of it, which in 1765 was in its fifth year. I ſhall ſpeak of it again under the article *Arts*.

OLD LONDON.

With regard to public and private buildings London has nothing comparable for ſplendor and magnificence to Paris and the cities of Italy. Old London throughout its whole extent, if we except the ſeveral additions which ſince the reign of Charles the ſecond have at leaſt increaſed it one half, offers to the view no remarkable buildings but Somerſet-houſe built by the uncle and guardian of the laſt of the Edwards, the Manſion-houſe, Temple-Bar, St. Paul's Church, the Royal Exchange, the Monument, and a few churches which lie hid amongſt the houſes. I ſhall give a more particular account of theſe buildings in the article of *Arts*. That I may not be obliged to return twice to Somerſet-houſe, let it ſuffice to ſay once for all, that this palace which was raiſed out of the ruins of churches, is an antiquated ſtructure, built in a vicious taſte, and partly tottering.

The Tower is remarkable for nothing but a battery of large cannon, which prevent the enemy from approaching it on the ſide of the Thames. Sheltered and defended by this fortreſs, which is ſaid to have exiſted ſince the time of the conqueſt of

* The latter have prevailed. T.

Bri-

Britain by Julius Cæſar, London has imperceptibly formed itſelf along-ſide of the Thames. It had throughout all this extent a ſure defence by means of the river, and the marſhes in which that river ſpread itſelf on the right. The nature of the ſoil that now ſupplies the place of theſe marſhes, plainly ſhews that it could not have been gain'd upon the Thames except by dint of dykes and great labour.

Old London has two great ſtreets that run parallel to the Thames; the Strand, which, being joined to Fleet Street and Cheapſide, &c. extends the whole length of the town; and Holborn, which is cut in a diſagreeable manner by the priſon of Newgate. Theſe two ſtreets are of a good breadth, but not exactly regular. St Paul's is the object which ſhould naturally terminate, the view in the Strand; but after walking a long time in this ſtreet, we do not diſcover that fine cathedral till we are come cloſe to the building *.

We ſhould read the inſcription on the monument erected by Charles the ſecond a little above London-bridge, to convince ourſelves that in the reign of this prince a great part of Old London was rebuilt upon a new plan. Houſes ſcattered about at random could not form ſtreets more narrow or irregular. If the inhabitants could think they had any reaſon to congratulate themſelves upon the change, it muſt be from a compariſon of the preſent with the primitive ſtate of thoſe quarters, before they were conſumed by the fire; and becauſe when they had gained a little ground by injuring property, which is held very ſacred in England, they thought they had done great matters. That part of London muſt then have been in a more wretched condition than the quarter of Paris called the *City*. With what rapidity muſt the fire

* This has been ſomewhat remedied by the pulling down of Ludgate. T.

have ſpread amongſt a confuſed heap of buildings all of which were of wood! for it was not till the reign of king James the firſt that they began to build with brick.

At that time all the cities of Europe, even thoſe of the firſt rate, were built in the ſame manner. Theſe ſnug boxes were extremely favourable to the complexion of the ladies; the air, which was concentered in them, contributed to preſerve all their bloom; but the leproſy, the king's evil, and the peſt, were for ever rooted there; fires made daily ravages, the progreſs of which was not to be checked; in a word, the continual removal of goods which trade requires, could not be effected, except by the hands of porters and amidſt an eternal perplexity.

In this quarter of London rebuilt after the great fire, the ſtreets which were paved in ſuch a manner that it is ſcarce poſſible to find a place to ſet one's foot, and abſolutely impoſſible to ride in a coach, are eternally covered with dirt*.

The longeſt and fineſt ſtreets, ſuch as the Strand, Cheapſide, Holborn, &c. would be unpaſſable, if there were not, for the conveniency of thoſe who are on foot, paths on each ſide of the way four or five feet broad; and, to make a communication between theſe acroſs the ſtreet, little cauſeways raiſed above the level of it, and made of the broadeſt ſtones picked and culled out with the utmoſt care for this purpoſe. It is eaſy to ſee what great diſadvantages muſt reſult from theſe numerous cauſeways to carriages.

In the moſt beautiful part of the Strand and near St. Clement's church, I have, during my whole ſtay in London, ſeen the middle of the ſtreet conſtantly foul

* Since the author wrote this account, the new pavement has been ſo generally extended, that his objections on this head fall to the ground; and the French now muſt allow, that London is the beſt paved and and beſt lighted city in Europe. T.

with a dirty puddle to the height of three or four inches; a puddle where ſplaſhings cover thoſe who walk on foot, fill coaches when their windows happen not to be up, and bedawb all the lower parts of ſuch houſes as are expoſed to it. In conſequence of this, the prentices are frequently employed in waſhing the fronts of their houſes, in order to take off the daubings of dirt which they had contracted over night.

The Engliſh are not afraid of this dirt, being defended from it by their wigs of a browniſh curling hair, their black ſtockings, and their blue ſurtouts which are made in the form of a night-gown.

To enable the reader to judge how frequently this daubing muſt happen, it will be ſufficient to inform him that the pavement of London is formed of ſtones juſt as when taken out of the quarry. Theſe ſtones, which are almoſt entirely round, have neither tail, foot, nor any part ſo formed as to ſtand upon: they roll about and hit one another inceſſantly upon a bottom, which is nothing elſe but a heap of old dirt. The whole art of the paviour conſiſts in placing theſe ſtones as near each other as poſſible; yet, bad as it is, this pavement is exceeding dear, there being no materials for it in the neighbourhood of London, but ſand, gravel, and chalk. With regard to the free-ſtone pavement, the materials of it are brought at a great expence from the extremities of the kingdom, and it is one of the deareſt commodities in London. If we may believe a ſtory told by the people of London, Lewis the fourteenth offered to ſupply Charles the ſecond with free-ſtone to pave his capital, upon condition that the Engliſh monarch ſhould furniſh him with that fine gravel with which the Engliſh ſtrew the walks in their gardens, and which when

when well rolled aſſumes the ſmoothneſs of a bowling green.

Means however have been found to pave with free-ſtone the great ſtreet called Parliament-ſtreet, which reaches from Weſtminſter-abbey to Charing-croſs. The fine ſtreet called Pall-mall is already paved in part with this ſtone; and they have alſo begun to new pave the Strand. The two firſt of theſe ſtreets were dry in May, all the reſt of the town being ſtill covered with heaps of dirt; it was even cuſtomary to water them as well as the bridges and the high roads in the neighbourhood of London: this has been a practice in England time out of mind, and was ſome years ago introduced at Paris by Joſeph Outrequin *.

Thoſe that walk may preſerve themſelves from the perplexity and dirt of the moſt frequented ſtreets, by turning into courts between the Strand and Holborn, which are joined together by paſſages or alleys that are ſhewn to a ſtranger by the crowds continually paſſing to and fro.

The fineſt ſhops are ſcattered up and down in theſe courts and paſſages. The grand company which they draw together, the elegant arrangement and parade made by the ſhops, whether in ſtuffs expoſed to ſale, fine furniture, and things of taſte, or the girls belonging to them, would be motives ſufficient to determine thoſe that walk, to make that their way in preference to any other, even if they had not neatneſs and ſecurity to recommend them.

The ſhops in the Strand, Fleet-ſtreet, Cheapſide, &c. are the moſt ſtriking objects that London can offer to the eye of a ſtranger. They are all encloſed with

* Before that time Paris had borrowed from the Londoners the uſe of hackney coaches and ſedan-chairs. The laſt invention was brought over to France by M. de Monbrun, baſtard of the duke de Bellegarde.

great glaſs doors; all adorned on the outſide with pieces of antient architecture, the more abſurd as they are liable to be ſpoilt by conſtant uſe; all brilliant and gay, as well on account of the things ſold in them, as the exact order in which they are kept; ſo that they make a moſt ſplendid ſhow, greatly ſuperior to any thing of the kind at Paris.

London has in its centre, exactly between Holborn and the Strand, an opening formed in two ſquares, which by their poſition appear to have been contrived to make room, in the direction of theſe two ſtreets and in part of their length, for a ſtreet as regular and much broader than that of St. Lewis du Marais at Paris: I mean Covent-garden and Lincoln's-inn-fields. If the middle of the latter were converted into a cauſeway, it would be of much greater uſe to the public than the green encompaſs'd with an iron grate is to thoſe who live in the ſquare.

Theſe two ſquares are exactly in the ſame line; yet ſcarce have they any communication in their preſent ſtate. In London every novelty of this ſort is dreaded: the extreme dearneſs of houſes and land juſtifies this fear; in a word, the Engliſh prejudice in favour of property, whilſt it deprives London of embelliſhments of which it is ſuſceptible, at leaſt ſecures the citizen from the whims and caprices of which he is the ſport in other countries, where he is ſubject to the ſway of a thouſand deſpotic rulers.

The aim of thoſe of London is to improve the proſpect in ſome meaſure, without any way altering or injuring the property of the ground. Now in theſe new arrangements thoſe who walk, find their advantage in every reſpect; that is to ſay, the paths always gain ſomething in breadth at the expence of the middle of the ſtreet: this I have ſeen an inſtance

of

of in that part of the Strand which was paved with free-ſtone.

Except in the two or three ſtreets which have very lately been well paved, the beſt hung and the richeſt coaches are in point of eaſe as bad as carts; whether this be owing to the toſſing occaſioned at every ſtep by the inequality and inſtability of the pavement, or to the continual danger of being ſplaſhed if all the windows are not kept conſtantly up.

To make up for the want of the rammer, a machine which the London paviours make but little uſe of, and to ſtrengthen the pavement ſhaken and diſordered by the coaches, it is an eſtabliſhed rule at London, that carriages which ſerve to carry the materials made uſe of in building and the heavieſt burthens, ſhould have the fellows of their wheels half a foot broad. Theſe fellows, which are fortified acroſs by three common irons, continually perform the office of the rammer or paving machine, add to the enormous weight of theſe carriages, and render the ſplaſhing more frequent and more copious. The ſervice which they are of in ſtrengthening the pavement has been looked upon as of ſuch importance, that the parliament has granted theſe carriages, upon account of their extraordinary wheels, an exemption from certain duties, that are levied at all the avenues to London, and in London itſelf.

Notwithſtanding the heavineſs and immoderate length of theſe carriages, which are conſtantly going from the city to the cuſtom-houſe, and from the latter to the magazines, through the Strand and the ſtreets adjoining to it, that is, through the quarter of London the moſt filled with coaches, they never give riſe to any diſturbance: which may be accounted for thus; theſe carriages move conſtantly in oppoſite directions, in two files, which never croſs or diſturb

each other. The heavieſt, and thoſe that move moſt ſlowly, directing the march of each of the files, the beſt carriage in London, as ſoon as it finds itſelf engaged with others, is obliged to follow the way pointed out by the file it belongs to, that is to ſay, to ſuffer itſelf to be toſſed and jogged about for a long time, whatever reaſon the driver may have to be expeditious.

But the Engliſh do not ſeem to have that eagerneſs to arrive at their journey's end, ſo general amongſt people of other countries. By theſe delays, they rate the time they are to be upon the road, and they are ſeen to perform this tedious taſk without inquietude or impatience.

However, if there ſeems to be any likelihood of its exceeding the time computed, they quit their coach, and mix with the crowd in the foot-path. This happens every day to perſons of the firſt rank; who upon theſe occaſions would find it a vain thing to attempt to avail themſelves of their great names or exalted dignity to be exempted from obſerving this general rule.

NEW LONDON.

THE new quarters of London parallel to St. Paul's Church-yard and St. James's Park, form a new town, which reſembles the old one in nothing but the foot-paths in all its ſtreets: having been imperceptibly forming ever ſince the Revolution, it increaſes in extent every day in proportion as the dominions of England are extended. In this manner did the antient Romans, at every new conqueſt, remove the Pomœrium of their city to a more conſiderable diſtance:

Hoc paces habuêre bonæ ventique ſecundi.

Pope

Pope and Swift, in their Hiſtory of M. Scriblerus, repreſent theſe new quarters as taking their riſe in the pariſh of St. Giles, which was then only a cluſter of little ſhops and mean places. It is now an aſſemblage of palaces and houſes deſtined to lodge people of fortune. Oxford-road, which makes part of it, will ſoon ſee its little mean houſes changed to palaces. In fine, London will ſhortly reach to Marybone, which is but a quarter of a league diſtant. This village, which was formed by French refugees, is now an aſſemblage of agreeable pleaſure-houſes.

Till the laſt reign, the noblemen of the three kingdoms being ſettled upon their eſtates, did no more than hire apartments, when public affairs or private buſineſs required their attendance in that capital: they conſidered their remoteneſs from court as the moſt glorious circumſtance of their independence. Their preſent eagerneſs to build in London according to their wealth or dignity ſeems to indicate, that they have forſaken the ſyſtem of their anceſtors. The court has not the ſame immediate intereſt in this revolution which cardinal de Richelieu had, in that of a ſimilar ſort which, whilſt it added luſtre to the court of France, ruined the provinces throughout the kingdom. If this extravagant paſſion ſhould once poſſeſs the nobility of Great-Britain, London will, by next century, be double to what it now is. At the ſame time, as the country towns increaſe in proportion * with London, this ſhews an overgrown population, which the colonies ſhould naturally diminiſh; and yet this is far from being the caſe.

* Here the author ſeems to be miſtaken; the increaſe of London rather drains the country. T.

The new quarters of London conſiſt of ſtreets drawn in a direct line, and with great uniformity. The houſes, which are of brick, and computed at twenty thouſand, built within theſe fifteen years, have, as in old London, only two ſtories or three at moſt, comprizing a ſubterraneous ſtory, occupied by kitchens and offices: this is a uniform arrangement, the model of which was furniſhed by Bedford-houſe, built by Inigo Jones. This ſubterraneous ſtory, which leaves the ground-floor all the ſalubrity of a firſt floor, looks into an area three feet broad, which ſeparates the houſe from the ſtreet. The foot-path that lies next to it, ſtands upon vaults, which contribute greatly to eaſe the ſubterraneous apartments. The chief advantage reſulting from thence is, that of bringing in, by means of an opening in the foot-path, all the coals that are uſed in the houſe; a great matter in point of cleanlineſs. This foot-path is ſeparated from the area by an iron rail. Two iron pillars make part of this rail, more or leſs adorned, which, forming a ſort of a fore-door, ſupport two lamps that each houſe is obliged to furniſh towards lighting the town; and from all theſe circumſtances united, there reſults a decoration by which utility and pleaſure are connected. The only inconvenience, ariſing from hence is, that notwithſtanding the reſpectful attention of all Engliſh workmen to oblige the public, it is a difficult matter for the perſons employed in renewing the oil of the lamps, to prevent ſome of it from dropping upon thoſe who paſs under them. I ſaw a head broke by the fall of one of theſe lamps: the perſon injured bore his misfortune patiently, and with a good grace received the excuſes of the lamp-lighter.

Theſe lamps, which are all encloſed in cryſtal globes, and lighted by way of precaution often half an hour before ſun-ſet, yield immediate light to the foot-path, but convey to the middle of the ſtreet only a glimmering, which, in the broad ſtreets, that is to ſay, thoſe which are moſt frequented by coaches, is hardly ſufficient to enlighten and direct the way.

Another inſtance of attention to the eaſe and convenience of the people is, that all public edifices, whether ſacred or prophane, all royal palaces, thoſe of princes of the blood, &c. have clocks with great dials, which, ſhewing the hour to thoſe who are on foot, ſave them the expence and trouble of a watch.

The new quarters of London are divided, and have a communication with each other by ſquares, ſome of which are of conſiderable extent: being moſt of them encloſed, like the place-royal at Paris, they have in the middle either green graſs-plots or pieces of water. Groſvenor-ſquare has a garden cut into a variety of walks. Some of them have equeſtrian ſtatues of the kings who have ſat upon the throne of England in latter days. Red-lion-ſquare is adorned with a half obeliſk of the greateſt proportion, and which produces a good effect. The houſes built round theſe ſquares are not confined to an exact uniformity: amongſt ſome which are quite plain and ſimple in front, we meet with others that have ornaments according to the taſte or caprice of the owner. During my reſidence in London, one was finiſhed in St. James's ſquare, that improved upon all about it: it was formed by enormous pillars, a third part of which, entering the wall of the houſe, ſupported the whole building, and bore a front proportionable: an extravagant decoration, which ſeems to have,

if not a model, at leaſt an excuſe, in the enormous colonnade that encompaſſes the vicarage-houſe of St. Euſtachius at Paris.

Pall-mall and the other remarkable ſtreets at the court end of the town, and which all the noblemen live in, have no court-yards or great gates; their entrances are but ſmall, not above four feet in breadth; adorned with only two pillars of the Doric order, over which ſtands a heavy pediment, as much out of its place as the pillars themſelves. This manner of laying out their houſes is owing to the extreme dearneſs of the ground, and that great taſte which the Engliſh have for cleanlineſs, a taſte not very compatible with ſtables, and all the dirty work with which thoſe places are unavoidably attended: little bye alleys ſerve for ſtabling horſes and putting up the coaches.

I have in all London ſeen but four houſes, which can be compared with the grand hotels of Paris: that of the earl of Cheſterfield, that of the duke of Bedford, and the houſes of the Spaniſh and French ambaſſadors: and yet theſe houſes, which are built chiefly of brick, have nothing of that ſtrikking luſtre which the ſtone called Pierre de Tonnerre gives to thoſe at Paris.

Montague-houſe deſerves to be taken particular notice of. By its extent, the variety of parts in which it is laid out, the magnificence of its ornaments, and its agreeable ſituation, it appears to be rather a royal palace, than the houſe of a private nobleman; eſpecially at London, where the king's palace is only an aſſemblage of very ordinary buildings, huddled together, without order or regularity.

The parliament has purchaſed this houſe, and dedicated it to the public utility, by depoſiting in it ſuch monuments and records of every kind as are capa-

capable of aſcertaining the preſent ſtate of arts and ſciences, and promoting their future progreſs. This vaſt collection, though it is not complete in all its parts, bears, as well as the palace which contains it, the title of the Britiſh Muſeum. I ſhall ſpeak of it more at large under the article *Sciences*.

The chapels, in the new quarters of London, are nothing more than little brick edifices: they will hereafter be rebuilt in a manner worthy of their deſtination, by means of the great funds aſſigned for that purpoſe in the reign of queen Anne. Theſe funds have already procured the city of London ſeveral churches, of which I ſhall give ſome account preſently.

Notwithſtanding the breadth and regularity of its ſtreets, notwithſtanding the free circulation of air, New London is as much buried in dirt as the old. The ground upon which it ſtands, and which is extended farther and farther every day, is a level plain, very rich and fertile; one part of it forms a meadow, which is of ſo much the greater uſe, as it abſorbs, for want of a declivity, all the rain-water. This want of a declivity, which formerly contributed to increaſe the richneſs of the ſoil, has now no other effect but to make the ſtreets more dirty. An attempt has been made to remedy this, by a few ſubterraneous ſinks that carry the waters of each houſe to the river, by wells which abſorb them, and by forbidding, under ſevere penalties, the throwing any water out of the windows: notwithſtanding theſe precautions, the fine ſtreets in theſe new quarters were, during my ſtay in London, as dirty as ever, though large carts were conſtantly employed in carrying off the dirt.

If we add to the inconveniency of the dirt, the ſmoke, which, being mixed with a conſtant fog, covers

vers London, and wraps it up intirely, we ſhall find in this city, all thoſe particulars which offended Horace moſt in that of Rome *.

This ſmoke is occaſioned, during the winter, which laſts about eight months, by the ſea coals made uſe of in kitchins, apartments, and even the halls of grand houſes; and by coals burnt in glaſs-houſes, in houſes where earthen ware is manufactured, in blackſmiths and gunſmiths ſhops, in dyers yards, &c. all which trades and manufactures are eſtabliſhed in the very heart of London, and upon both banks of the Thames. The conveniency afforded by the river for diſtributing ſea coal, their only firing, to theſe ſeveral work-houſes; the facility which reſults from their ſituation, to enable men to remove the goods manufactured in them to the magazines and ſhops, without being under a neceſſity of making them up into bales, and putting them into cheſts, have brought upon London, and entailed upon it for ever, all the inconveniencies that reſult from ſuch eſtabliſhments within its boſom. That of the ſmoke gains ground every day: if the increaſe of London proceeds as far as it may, the inhabitants muſt at laſt bid adieu to all hopes of ever ſeeing the ſun.

This ſmoke, being loaded with terreſtrial particles, and rolling in a thick, heavy atmoſphere, forms a cloud, which envelopes London like a mantle; a cloud which the ſun pervades but rarely; a cloud which, recoiling back upon itſelf, ſuffers the ſun to break out only now and then, which caſual appearance procures the Londoners a few of what they call *glorious days*. The great love of the Engliſh for walking defies the badneſs of other days. On the 26th of April, St.

* *Fumum & opes, ſtrepitumque*; to which we add, *illuviem*.

James's

James's park inceſſantly covered with fogs, ſmoke and rain, that ſcarce left a poſſibility of diſtinguiſhing objects at the diſtance of four ſteps, was filled with walkers, who were an object of muſing and admiration to me during that whole day. When the ſpring was completely opened, all this park, trees, alleys, benches, graſs-plots, were ſtill impregnated with a ſort of black ſtuff, formed by the ſucceſſive depoſits which had been left by the ſmoke of winter.

But it is not enough for this ſmoke to wrap up and ſtifle London and its inhabitants: it brings upon them immediately and of itſelf a thouſand inconveniencies, no leſs pernicious than diſagreeable: inconveniencies which will augment in proportion to the increaſe that London every day acquires.

The vapours, fogs and rains, with which the atmoſphere of London is loaded, drag with them in their fall the heavieſt particles of the ſmoke; this forms black rains, and produces all the ill effects that may juſtly be expected from it upon the cloaths of thoſe who are expoſed to it. Their effect is the more certain and unavoidable, as it is a rule with the people of London, not to uſe, or ſuffer foreigners to uſe, our umbrellas of taffeta or waxed ſilk: for this reaſon, London ſwarms with ſhops of ſcourers buſied in ſcouring, repairing, and new furbiſhing, the cloaths that are ſmoked in this manner. This ſcouring is perpetual.

Even the buildings themſelves feel the effects of the ſmoke, and nothing can prevent their being injured by it. The moſt conſiderable, to begin with St. Paul's, being built with Portland ſtone, which bears a great reſemblance to the Pierre de Tonnere in the whiteneſs and fineneſs of the grain, ſeem to be built with coal; and the more ſo, as the

parts

parts moſt expoſed to the rain retain ſome degree of their firſt whiteneſs.

The ſad and gloomy air which ſmoke gives to buildings, is one of the leaſt injuries it does them: its corroſive particles act upon the ſtone, eat it away, and deſtroy it. At the time of the great fire of London in 1666, the ancient cathedral, which which was conſumed by it, had, ſince the reign of Elizabeth, been the object of reparations as frequent as expenſive, occaſioned by the imperceptible action of the ſmoke upon all the parts of that great pile of building. London was, however, but half as big as it is now, taking it in its whole extent. Somerſet-houſe is an inſtance of the great effect, which the ruſt depoſited by exhalations from ſea-coal fires have upon buildings. The ſtones of that palace, which appears to have been built with the utmoſt care, are in filigreen-work, reduced to the ſtate of metal unequally corroded by aqua-fortis.

The inſide of public buildings and of the houſes of individuals is equally hurt by the moſt volatile, penetrating, and corroſive parts of the ſmoke. The furniture of houſes generally ſpeaking conſiſts of large chairs, the ſeats of which are in part ſtuffed up very full, and covered with Morocco leather, and partly of mahogany tables. With regard to the walls, they are hung with cloth or printed paper by thoſe who are not ſatisfied with plain wainſcot; as for the beds, they are made of ſtuffs more ſolid than brilliant, and which require to be frequently renewed, if people prefer ſhew to ſolidity.

Libraries are above all liable to be damaged by the ſmoke. Bindings of books, though taken ever ſo much care of, and ever ſo fine in themſelves, ſoon aſſume the hue of the old trumpery which have lain

two

two or three years upon the quay de la Ferraile at Paris, expoſed to the inclemency of the weather. Hence thoſe of the learned who are moſt curious in elegant bindings are obliged to encloſe them hermetically under glaſs covers; and even ſo it is found neceſſary to have them rubbed from time to time. Dr. Gally always began with this ceremony, when we went together for any book to his fine library.

Such is, with regard to its natural ſtate, that famous city, concerning which Pavillon ſaid:

Elle eſt pour moi toute pleine d'appas :
Je ni vois ni commis, ni moines, ni miſere;
L'on n'y travaille guere,
Et l'on y fait de bons repas *.

The Engliſh maintain London to be larger and more populous than Paris; and the French look upon Paris as the moſt conſiderable city in Europe, as well for extent as number of inhabitants. With regard to the extent, we ſhould take notice, 1. That London has neither thoſe palaces, hotels, or religious houſes, which, without utility, occupy near a third part of Paris: 2. That the houſes there are but two or three ſtories high at moſt, and that each houſe is generally occupied by a ſingle family. With regard to populouſneſs, if we reckon amongſt the inhabitants of London the men and families ſcattered throughout thoſe veſſels of all ſorts, whoſe continual conflux fills the channel of the Thames from London-bridge to Graveſend, the reſult will be an overplus which will make the populouſneſs of London come in competition with that of Paris.

* That capital is form'd my ſoul to pleaſe,
No ſpies, no monks, no wretches there appear;
There life is paſs'd in indolence and eaſe,
And all the jocund pleaſures of good cheer.

POLICE.

PUBLIC DIVERSIONS, &c.

BUT London differs from Paris in nothing ſo much as the police which is obſerved there.

Conſidering the well-known taſte of the Engliſh for combats of men and animals, and for thoſe horrid ſcenes of ſlaughter and blood, which other nations have baniſhed from their theatres, I expected to find at London a people as ſanguinary as ready to engage in quarrels; a people in whom the love of carnage equalled their pride and inſolence; a people amongſt whom tranquillity and ſecurity could not be eſtabliſhed, except by redoubling precautions, and the meaſures required elſewhere for the ſupport of the police: but I was miſtaken, and perceived afterwards that I had juſt reaſon to exclaim,

Non iſtis vivitur illic
Quæis tu rere modis: urbs hac nec purior ulla eſt,
Nec magis his aliena malis.

The whole management of the police is in the hands of certain juſtices of the peace, of as little importance as the commiſſaries of the quarters at Paris: here juſtice proſecutes offences without endeavouring to prevent them, through reſpect for the freedom of the nation, which might be hurt by diſtruſt; it has no ſpies in its retinue, nor thoſe offices of covert and ſecret correſpondencies, which it looks upon with the ſame evil eye as the beſt Roman emperors did upon informers *.

London has neither troops, patroll, nor any ſort of regular watch †; and it is guarded during the night

* See, at the beginning of the fourteenth book of Ammianus Marcellinus, a fine picture of people of this ſort, relative to the uſe made of them by the tyrant Gallus.

† Like the *Guet* at Paris. T.

only

only by old men choſen from the dregs of the people; who have no other arms but a lanthorn and a pole; who patrole the ſtreets, crying the hour every time the clock ſtrikes; who proclaim good or bad weather in the morning; who come to awake thoſe who have any journey to perform; and whom it is cuſtomary with young rakes to beat and uſe ill, when they come reeling from the taverns where they have ſpent the night.

The Engliſh themſelves acknowledge, that London ſwarms with pick-pockets, as daring as they are ſubtile and cunning. Though I was always in the ſtreets, and in the midſt of multitudes, whom chance threw in my way; and though I never took any care of my pocket; I had no reaſon to complain of ſuffering by their ſubtilty, which I encouraged by my careleſſneſs. After taking a walk one evening in the avenue to Chelſea Hoſpital, I ſat down upon a bench, where I fell aſleep with a book in my hand: upon waking, I found myſelf ſurrounded with old ſoldiers, one of whom told me in French, *That I had run a great risk, in giving way to ſleep in that manner. I knew*, anſwered I, *that I was ſurrounded with military men and brave fellows: what hazard could I run in ſuch company?* Having ſaid this, I gave the Frenchman a ſhilling for his information. Notwithſtanding this, happening to be afterwards in Kenſington-gardens, and having turned to the ſun one of thoſe boxes which are ſcattered up and down the graſs-plats, and move round upon pivots, I again gave way to ſleep: but my awaking was attended with the moſt agreeable ſurprize imaginable. The box was taken by a company of handſome young women, who had kept the moſt profound ſilence. For this they now indemnified themſelves, by entering into a very gay chat with me, which

laſted as long as could be expected between perſons who did not rightly underſtand each other. My book, which I was looking for, happened to be in the hands of one of the handſomeſt of them, who gave me leave to teſtify my gratitude by a kiſs. This is the only theft, which my want of precaution againſt pickpockets ever expoſed me to.

However the inhabitants of London may think themſelves ſurrounded with thieves, they do not act in conſequence with regard to the pewter pots, in which the publicans diſtribute ſtrong beer to the houſes in their neighbourhood. As ſoon as theſe pots are emptied, that the boys belonging to the ale-houſes may gather them with the greater eaſe, they are thrown into the entries of open houſes, and often into the ſtreet at the foot of the door, which is ſhut. I ſaw pots thus lying in the ſtreets at every turn; and this ſight encouraged me not to be afraid of thieves.

The police does not meddle with the management of public diverſions. It thinks itſelf in duty bound to reſpect the pleaſures and tranſient gaiety of a nation, which has only theſe places to ſuſpend the melancholy and natural ſerioufneſs that form its characteriſtic. The public diverſions of London, not being moleſted by any inſpectors, are more free than thoſe of Paris were before M. D'Argenſon gave orders that they ſhould be ſuperintended by the French guards: a freedom the more aſtoniſhing in the former, as footmen, who are admitted without paying, fill a high gallery which commands the ſtage.

All the gazettes of Europe are from time to time filled with accounts of the diſturbances, tumults, and quarrels, which are the conſequence of this liberty. The laſt quarrel of which they make mention, was occa-

occaſioned by a company of French dancers, who had been received at the little theatre in the Hay-market, and againſt whom the pretenders to patriotiſm had formed a cabal. The engagement was lively; the combatants returned to it ſeveral days ſucceſſively with fiſty-cuffs and cudgels; and the victory having, at laſt, declared for the patriots, the French left the field of battle to the conquerors. The police and the miniſtry had, during this whole contention, obſerved a ſtrict neutrality.

Drury-lane theatre had, about the ſame time, been the ſcene of action, in a conteſt the more warm, as the liberty of the nation was then in queſtion, or an intereſt ſuppoſed to be cloſely connected with it.

At the London theatres, they generally give a play of five acts, followed by a petite piece of one or two more. It has been cuſtomary, to admit, at the end of the third act, at half price, all who deſired to enter: hence it came to paſs, that many perſons not chuſing, through a ſpirit of œconomy, to come to the three firſt acts, which are often the leaſt intereſting, the theatres were crowded with ſpectators who paid only half price for their places; and this the managers by no means found their account in. Mr. Garrick, the greateſt actor that England, and perhaps Europe, ever produced, being then the acting manager of the theatre of Drury-lane, imagined he might avail himſelf of the reputation which he had acquired by his genius, to put his theatre upon the ſame footing with thoſe of Paris: he therefore propoſed it to the public, in the bills of the firſt play which was to be acted at the houſe that ſeaſon.

This propoſal raiſed as great an alarm in London as the approach of an hoſtile army could have done. It extended even to thoſe who did not frequent the theatres: in a word, on the appointed day, that of

Drury-lane was extremely crowded. A profound ſilence prevailed through the whole audience, till the play began: but ſcarce did the actors make their appearance upon the ſtage, when a general outcry was ſet up. Garrick's friends, at firſt, did their utmoſt to appeaſe the diſturbance by remonſtrance and intreaties; and afterwards the moſt officious among them proceeded to fiſty-cuffs and cudgels againſt thoſe who were moſt clamorous. The engagement ſoon became general: during the fray, the players ſtill continuing upon the ſtage, victory declared for thoſe who were for the half price; whereupon they tore up the benches of the pit and galleries, demoliſhed the boxes, and made themſelves arms of the ſhattered pieces, to drive the players off the ſtage, and compleatly rout thoſe who had eſpouſed their cauſe. The victory having proved deciſive, part of theſe ſhattered pieces were taken up, and carried off by the conquerors, as trophies.

The theatre, having been repaired and opened again, was as much crowded as before; and Garrick, coming upon the ſtage to apologize for what had paſſed, was treated by a part of the audience with indignity, which he anſwered by declining a conſiderable time to perform, notwithſtanding the preſſing ſolicitations of the nobility and gentry, ſeconded by the king himſelf *.

Before the play-houſe was thus demoliſhed, the king's box had been adorned with figures of the lion and unicorn, the ſupporters of the arms of England. Theſe figures, which were heavy and indifferently carved, adorned the front of the box, where they were faſtened only by a few pegs. They were the firſt weapons made uſe of when the pit was in an up-

* For a farther account of this tranſaction, in which the author has been miſinformed, ſee Appendix. T.

roar:

roar: the unicorn was thrown upon the ſtage, where it fell amongſt the players, who fled for it: the lion, being either heavier or thrown with leſs dexterity, did not reach the mark at which it was aimed; it fell upon the orcheſtra, where it broke the great harpſicord to pieces. By this accident the king's box was greatly improved, in loſing a Gothic ornament, which it has not ſince been thought adviſable to replace.

In the year 1749, the little theatre in the Haymarket ſuffered a ſhock ſtill more dreadful. An Italian, whoſe name was Calagorri, undertook to abuſe the credulity and idle curioſity of the Engliſh. He publiſhed an advertiſement, that, on the Monday following, the ſpectators ſhould be preſented with a common wine bottle, which any of them ſhould firſt examine: That the bottle ſhould be placed on a table in the middle of the ſtage: That a man (without any equivocation) ſhould go into it, in ſight of all the ſpectators, and ſing in it: That, during his ſtay in the bottle, any perſon might handle it, and ſee plainly that it exceeded not a common tavern quart bottle. At the hour appointed, the theatre was filled with perſons the moſt eminently diſtinguiſhed for birth, rank, or learning. The ſpectators waited for an hour or two; they grew impatient and vociferous, when a fellow came from behind the curtain, and told them, that if the performer did not appear, their money ſhould be returned. At the ſame time, a wag crying out from the pit, that, *if the ladies and gentlemen would give double prices, the conjurer would get into a pint bottle*, preſently the alarm was ſounded. Their mortification at being thus taken in was converted to rage: the moſt furious had recourſe to the revenge uſual upon ſuch occaſions: they inſtantly began to pull down the houſe. In the midſt

of this confuſion, and the cries of the people who were crowded and preſſed together by thoſe who were without, and who were excited to enter by the noiſe which they heard within, all the candles being put out, the dread of being cruſhed to death armed the crowd againſt themſelves. Blows were given repeatedly on every ſide; the door was pulled down, and thoſe who were moſt eager to get out, eſcaped at the breach, all over bruiſed and covered with wounds. Thoſe who were by their paſſion blinded to the danger, continued the work they had begun, and did not deſiſt till they had deſtroyed every thing upon the ſtage, and even pulled down the houſe. Amongſt the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſonages who happened to be preſent at this troubleſome affair was the late duke of Cumberland: that prince had a ſword which was exceeding valuable, and a preſent made him by the queen of Hungary. This ſword, being wreſted from his ſide, and broken in the efforts which he made to get out of the houſe, was found amongſt the ruins of the theatre; and the duke gave a reward of forty guineas to the perſon who brought it to him. As to Calagorri, no ſooner had he received the money for this wonderful operation, but he mounted a horſe which was kept ready for him behind the play-houſe, and made his eſcape; availing himſelf of the two hours that the ſpectators were waiting, and the time that the people were engaged in endeavouring to preſerve their lives, inſtead of wreaking their vengeance upon a ſharper that had taken advanage of their credulity.

Such are the conſequences of the want of a police to regulate theatrical entertainments at London: but this is a branch of public liberty; and it is eaſy to conceive what a latitude that leaves to words; it extends even to the king himſelf—to the king now upon the throne.

throne. At the time that the additional tax was laid upon porter, the king's ears were ſaluted in the theatre with all that indecent freedom of expreſſion, which the utmoſt bitterneſs of reſentment could ſuggeſt to a haughty people. After that, his majeſty for ſome time left off going to the theatres, in conſequence of a groſs affront, addreſſed perſonally to him, and uttered ſo loudly and diſtinctly that every body could hear it.

Women of the town, another article in which the police is in a particular manner concerned in other great cities, ſeem to give the magiſtrates of London very little trouble. Yet they are more numerous than at Paris, and have more liberty and effrontery than at Rome itſelf. About night-fall they range themſelves in a file in the foot-paths of all the great ſtreets, in companies of five or ſix, moſt of them dreſt very genteely. The low-taverns ſerve them as a retreat, to receive their gallants in: in thoſe houſes there is always a room ſet apart for this purpoſe. Whole rows of them accoſt paſſengers in broad day-light; and above all, foreigners. Their buſineſs is ſo far from being conſidered as unlawful, that the liſt of thoſe who are any way eminent is publicly cried about the ſtreets: this liſt, which is very numerous, points out their places of abode, and gives the moſt circumſtantial and exact detail of their features, their ſtature, and the ſeveral qualifications for which they are remarkable. A new one is publiſhed every year, and ſold under the piazza of Covent-garden, with the title of the New Atalantis, and the name of the author, M. Harris, in the title-page. There are likewiſe to be ſeen in the ſame place two other poems, one entituled, The Meretriciad, the other The Courtezan, both very fit to be annexed to the above liſt.

Beſides the women of the town who ply in the ſtreets, London has many ſubſtantial wholeſale dealers, who keep warehouſes, in which are to be found compleat parcels. A warehouſe for commodities of this ſort goes by the name of a Bagnio; the prices are there fixed, and all paſſes with as much order and decency as can be expected in a commerce of this nature. I ſhall elſewhere inform the readers what order in the ſtate contributes moſt to ſupport theſe brothels.

Mr. Wilkes's affair, occaſioned by his 45th number of the *North Briton*, has ſhewn all Europe to what lengths the liberty of the preſs is carried in London. The foreign powers of Europe, and their miniſters, would in vain flatter themſelves, were they to hope for more reſpectful treatment from the London authors, than the king of England and his miniſters meet with themſelves. In how many ſatires and bitter invectives was Lewis the XIVth mauled, long after the total defeat of the Jacobite party! Lord Moleſworth, upon returning from his embaſſy to Copenhagen, about the beginning of the preſent century, publiſhed an account of Denmark, replete with the moſt ſevere obſervations upon the court and preſent ſtate of that kingdom. The king of Denmark had then a connexion of the utmoſt intimacy with the court of England; and gave orders to his ambaſſador to require of king William ample ſatisfaction from the author of the book, requeſting even that he ſhould be delivered up to the Daniſh miniſter, that he might make an example of him. "Take care, ſaid king William to the ambaſſador, take great care how you ſuffer this order of the king your maſter to get wind; it would have no other effect but to cauſe another edition of the book, and make it ſell better than ever."

Sati-

Satirical prints are leſs taken notice of by the police even than books. A prodigious number of little ſhops, particularly about Weſtminſter-hall, are every day lined with prints, in which the chief perſons, both in the miniſtry and in parliament, are handled without mercy, by emblematical repreſentations, moſt wretchedly executed. The engraver thinks he has attained his end, if he can but hit off a few features, to make the perſons known, whom he intends to exhibit as laughing-ſtocks to the people.

I have ſeen a print of this ſort, which repreſented the principal judges tumbled together in a cluſter, with their full-bottomed wigs about their ears, and ſnoring in the moſt ludicrous attitudes imaginable. The features of moſt of thoſe magiſtrates could eaſily be diſcovered, and the deſign was executed by a maſterly hand.

COMBATS.

WHATEVER is not an immediate infraction of the public peace, or has no tendency to endanger the liberty or lives of the citizens, does not fall under the cognizance of the police; which of conſequence leaves full liberty to the combats that frequently happen at London between the lower ſort of people, and ſometimes between perſons of condition, who, by way of recreation, chuſe to engage in a bruiſing match.

The mob are the ſupreme judges of theſe combats; and they have traditional laws, the firſt of which is, that the combat is to laſt till one of the parties acknowledges himſelf conquered, either by begging for quarter, or lying upon the ground without ſtirring, and rejecting the aſſiſtance of the ſpectators, who are always ready to raiſe the vanquiſhed.

Theſe

Theſe combats are managed by blows with the head and fiſty-cuffs. Theſe bruiſers, when they enter the liſts, take off their cloaths, and often even ſtrip themſelves to the ſkin: it is but politeneſs in an Engliſhman to act in this manner when he has a foreigner to contend with. The combatant ſhews thereby, that he is not afraid of blows, and that he has nothing upon him that can either ward them off or deaden their effect.

This ſpecies of combat is, no doubt, congenial to the character of the Engliſh. It has always been practiſed in England, and from thence adopted by the inhabitants of Bretagne in France, who have conſtantly retained it, and ſtill practiſe it with certain modifications *. It was a genteel diverſion amongſt Engliſhmen of the firſt rank. In the famous interview between Francis the firſt and Henry the eighth at Boulogne; the latter one day took the king of France by the collar, and propoſed wreſtling to him; the challenge being accepted, Henry gave the French monarch two trips, which Francis recovered from, and laid the Engliſh king ſprawling upon the ground, giving him, ſays Fleurange, a ſurpriſing toſs †.

This taſte is ſo inherent in Engliſh blood, that at Eaton, Weſtminſter ſchool, and other places of the ſame ſort, the children of the greateſt noblemen often challenge one another to combats of this kind, and box according to all the rules and punctilios of honour. "Why ſhould I not fight? ſaid one of theſe boys to me: am I not a match for any other of my age? If I decline the combat, or own myſelf worſted in it, the reſt of the boys will have an advantage

* In the Joyous Adventures, a work printed for the firſt time in 1555, the hero of the firſt novel travelling through Bretagne came to a wealthy gentleman's houſe, where there were three youths of a good age and ſtature, expert dancers, and wreſtlers, and who would not have been afraid to engage a man collar to collar.

† Hiſt. de Calais, par M. Lefevere, tom. ii.

over

over me ever after; my adverſary will have a right to ſay, I have beat that fellow, I am therefore his better." Theſe young noblemen, notwithſtanding, had never an opportunity of learning leſſons and examples of this ſpecies of ferocity amongſt the lower ſort of people.

It extends even to women, at leaſt among the vulgar. I ſaw in Holbourn a woman engaged with a man, who, taking all ſorts of advantage, flew at her with a rage of which the moſt frightful ſymptoms were conſpicuous in his attitude, and all the features of his face: having ſtruck her with his utmoſt force, he retreated back, and rouzed himſelf, by pouring out torrents of abuſe, to return again to the attack. The woman, who appeared leſs furious than he, ſeized theſe intervals, to fall upon his face and eyes with her hands. I was witneſs to five or ſix bouts of the combat; which ſurprized me the more, as the woman had, upon her left arm, an infant a year or two old, which was ſo far from crying out, as it is natural for children to do even in circumſtances of leſs danger, that it did not ſo much as ſeem to knit its brow, but appeared to attend to a leſſon of what it was one day to practiſe itſelf.

The Police* takes no cognizance of theſe combats of individuals, which keep up the bravery of the people, but without fortifying their minds againſt the fear of ſharp weapons. It allows men to revenge, upon the ſpot, an inſult which they have not given occaſion to. I once ſaw in Parliament-ſtreet one of the low fellows that infeſt the foot-

* I could never learn whether the Police had any influence in putting an end to thoſe violent combats, which uſed to be exhibited upon theatres by perſons bred to it like the gladiators of ancient Rome. The cruelty of this exhibition was doubtleſs the reaſon for diſcontinuing it.

paths

paths of that neighbourhood, fall foul of a gentleman who was paſſing by, give him the moſt opprobrious language, and even lift up his hand to ſtrike him: the gentleman thereupon applied his cane ſo violently to the ſkull of the aggreſſor, that he fell to the ground inſenſible, and the gentleman very quietly walked on. I was given to underſtand, that the inſult which he had received was entirely unprovoked, and that he would have had no proſecution to fear even if he had killed the man.

Happening another time to be taking a walk in St. James's Park, I ſaw a tolerably well-dreſſed Engliſhman come into the middle of the mall, to attack a perſon who had the air of a foreigner, and wore a ſword. He had the inſolence to ſtand in his way, and, without touching him, made a ſhew of a few allonges at him in tierce and quarte. The foreigner provoked at this behaviour, clapt his hand to the hilt of his ſword; at which the Engliſhman inſtantly took to his heels. A lawyer, with whom I was then walking, aſſured me, that if the foreign gentleman had that inſtant run the fellow through the body, the inſult he received was ſo public, that he would have been in no danger from the law.

Murder is, notwithſtanding, looked upon in England as the greateſt and moſt heinous of all crimes. The prepoſſeſſion which the laws have eſtabliſhed in this reſpect has ſo univerſally prevailed in the minds of men, that even highwaymen ſeldom go ſo far as to kill thoſe whom they rob. As ſoon as the heat of the bloodieſt revolutions ſubſides, this prepoſſeſſion again coming in force preſerves the lives of perſons, who, in any other country, would without mercy be ſacrificed to reaſons of ſtate.

Thus Richard Cromwell, Fairfax, and all the chiefs of the anti-royal party, ſurvived the re-eſtabliſh-

ment

ment of monarchy, and ſpent the remainder of their days unmoleſted. I was ſhewn at court the grand daughter or great grand daughter of Cromwell, a connexion which is not ſo much conſidered as a mark of infamy as it is of honour and diſtinction.

The city of London, deſtitute, as I have already obſerved, of troops, guards, and a patrole of any ſort, peopled by unarmed men (for few wear ſwords except phyſicians, and officers when they are in their regimentals), reduced in the night to the ſuperintendancy of old men without arms, is guarded only by the divine commandment, *non occides, thou ſhalt not kill*, and by laws enacted againſt murder, ſevere and rigidly obſerved, without diſtinction of rank or perſons; whether it be that the law has had ſome influence upon the character of the people, or that the national character facilitates the exact obſervance * of the law †.

London is the only great city in Europe where neither murders nor aſſaſſinations happen. This I found by experience, as far as it was poſſible for me

* See below, the article of Laws and Jurisprudence. Cicero ſaid in his oration for Cecinna: Nihil in civitate tam diligenter quam jus retinendum eſt: quo ſublato, nihil eſt quod æquabile inter omnes eſſe poſſit. "Nothing ſhould be ſo carefully preſerved and attended to in a city as juſtice: which being once deſtroyed, there can remain nothing to put all the citizens upon one level of equality." One of thoſe extraordinary perſons whom France reckons amongſt its principal ſtateſmen, M. Pithou, after a life paſſed amidſt the agitations of civil war, ſaid in his laſt will: Rectâ, ſincerâ, æquabili, conſtanti inter omnes juſtitiæ adminiſtratione, etiam ſceleratiſſimis atque audaciſſimis os occludi, manus obligari vidi, expertus ſum. "By a juſt, pure, equable, and conſtant adminiſtration of juſtice amongſt all, I have ſeen and experienced that the mouths of the moſt wicked and audacious may be ſtopped, and their hands tied up."

† The people who were polluted with ſlaughter in almoſt all the revolutions of England, reſembled the preſent inhabitants as little, as the preſent Pariſians reſemble thoſe who lived at the cloſe of the 15th century, or the Pariſians of the year 1472.

to

to find it. Returning from the play-houſe late at night, I choſe, in preference to great ſtreets, narrow paſſages, very indifferently lighted, like thoſe which at Paris lead from the ſtreet of St. John de Beauvais to St. Michael's place, through St. John of Latran, St. Benoit, and the Sorbonne. I told thoſe who aſked me the reaſon of my giving this preference, that I was deſirous of knowing by my own experience, whether it was fact that there were no aſſaſſinations in London; and I had in this reſpect as full and ſatisfactory information as I deſired. Even in the moſt violent diſturbances, when I was in the midſt of the mob, I have ſeen them threaten weakly, plunder ſome houſes obnoxious to them, throw a few ſtones, and though ſurounded by troops, remain in a kind of awe, as well as the ſoldiers, through mutual fear of the effuſion of blood *.

In a word, the people of London, though haughty and ungovernable, are in themſelves good-natured and humane: this holds even amongſt thoſe of the loweſt rank. This appears from the great care which they take to prevent the frays almoſt unavoidable, amidſt the eternal paſſing and repaſſing of carriages in the moſt frequented ſtreets, ſome of which are exceeding narrow. If, notwithſtanding the great care of the coachmen and carmen to avoid them, there ariſes ſome confuſion and perplexity, their readineſs to turn aſide, to retire, to open, to lend each other a hand, if there be occaſion, prevents this confuſion from degenerating into one of thoſe bloody frays which ſo often happen at Paris. Let us even add, to the honour of Engliſh coachmen, that I have ſeen four hundred coaches together at Ranelagh, which placed themſelves in a file, paſſed each other, and were always ready at the firſt word, without either guards or directors to keep them to order.

* Vide infra.

At

At public feſtivals, and all ceremonies which attract a crowd, let it be ever ſo great, children, and perſons low in ſtature, are ſeen to meet with tender treatment; all are eager to make room for them, and even to lift them up in their arms, that they may have an opportunity of ſeeing. The paſſages and doors of the place where the feſtival is celebrated are guarded by perſons, who have no guns, partiſans, or halberts for their arms, but long hollow ſtaves, which, when they make uſe of them, a caſe that happens very rarely, make a great noiſe, and do but little hurt.

THE POOR.

THE Police is unemployed with reſpect to the ſeveral objects which I have been ſpeaking of, this is in a great meaſure owing to there being but very few poor in London, on account of the many charitable foundations, and the immenſe ſums produced by the poors rate. This is raiſed and diſtributed by each pariſh: it is one of the firſt charges to which all houſes are ſubject; and a very capital one it is. The reader may judge of this, by the total of the product of the tax, valued at 22 millions of livres *. It is one of thoſe impoſts which citizens of the lower ſort pay moſt chearfully; they look upon it as a fund, the intereſts of which are upon the death of the father of a family ſecured to his widow and children.

Either the tax might be lowered, or the poor might receive more certain and more conſiderable relief, if it was not that ſome people enrich themſelves thereby, in defiance of all juſtice and honeſty, and

* The Poors Rate, for England only, is ſuppoſed to exceed *three millions and a half* ſterling. *Poſtlethw. Dict.* T.

contrary

contrary to the practice of all ages and countries. During my ſtay in London, the houſe of lords took into their ſerious conſideration a bill for a general adminiſtration, and for eſtabliſhing an office for raiſing, dviding, and diſtributing the product of the poors tax. I was preſent once when the houſe of lords ſat upon this affair; and it gave riſe to an event which was at laſt decided in favour of the poor, after a long and warm diſcuſſion.

This event was owing to lord Lyttelton, who obſerved, that as that honourable houſe was deſcending into a particular detail of the wants of the poor, and the relief which they required, he thought himſelf bound to propoſe to their lordſhips, as the firſt ſtep to this relief, that all the acts which paſſed in parliament for them, or in their name, and relative to any charitable eſtabliſhment whatever, ſhould be exempted from all coſts and charges. This motion principally affected the lord chancellor, who receives part of thoſe perquiſites, and preſides in the houſe as ſpeaker. He roſe from his ſeat, and, after having ſpoke a long time of his private diſpoſition to have the affair put upon the footing propoſed, he laid a great ſtreſs on the ancient uſage, and the danger of making innovations. Lord Mansfield, chief-juſtice of the king's-bench, and one of the moſt eloquent orators in England, ſeconded the lord chancellor in a long ſpeech. In fact, the affair had been brought upon the carpet by the party then in oppoſition to the court, who were ſtiled the *Patriots*, with no other view but to oppoſe the miniſterial party, who were called the *Abettors of Corruption*. The queſtion was in conſequence debated with all the warmth which might naturally be expected from the ſecret views of thoſe

who made the motion, and thoſe who oppoſed it. After a long debate, there being nearly an equal number of votes on both ſides, they were counted with the utmoſt care, and the bill in favour of the poor paſſed by a plurality of three.

The two parties having thus made trial of their force, and neither of them relying ſo much upon it as to avail themſelves thereof in the bill for the general adminiſtration, the project came to nothing. It will here be aſked, What intereſt contending parties could have to uſe their influence upon a bill of that nature in oppoſition to each other? Their motive was, that they might each of them have it in their power to provide for perſons in whom they could confide, and to introduce their friends into lucrative places. Add to this, that to change the eſtabliſhed regulation in reſpect to the poor was attended with danger, as it could not be effected without offending a conſiderable number of perſons, who would have been ruined by the new plan; and amongſt theſe, both clergy and laity, each party has champions, whom it is their intereſt to be upon good terms with.

Be that as it will; the poors tax, notwithſtanding the abuſes inſeparable from all pecuniary affairs, and notwithſtanding the enormous ſum to which it amounts, is the moſt noble method by which an opulent people can derive honour from their wealth. By clearing the ſtreets of London of beggars, it has delivered the Police from the chief cares by which its attention is elſewhere engaged.

To form a judgment of this Police from the advertiſement publiſhed by M. de la Condamine, upon his being ill-uſed by a juſtice of peace, we might be tempted to conceive a very diſadvantageous idea of

thoſe who are in that employ; but what provoked M de la Condamine ſo highly was, in fact, a meer trifle. A ſtrict inquiry having been made into this affair, the juſtice of peace, whom M. de la Condamine was for having put out of the commiſſion, was continued in it. It muſt be acknowledged, that he was afterwards deprived of his office for another malverſation; and this made the wound, that M. de la Condamine had given the Police of London, bleed afreſh.

If we were to form an eſtimate of the circumſtances of the inhabitants of London from the daily gains of the artiſans, that people might be thought very rich in compariſon of the Pariſians, the price of work being almoſt double to what it is at Paris: and the more ſo, as they are in general as regular in their morals and conduct as the people of Paris are the reverſe. It muſt at the ſame time be obſerved, that the inhabitants of London eat and drink well, are handſomely cloathed *, and procreate accordingly; yet every thing is ſo dear in London, that tradeſmen of the lower ſort, though they earn a great deal, and are at no expence but what is unavoidable, and to procure bare neceſſaries, live, as ſuch people do every where elſe, from hand to mouth. The diſtant counties of England are, in theſe particulars, the ſame thing with reſpect to London, as the provinces of France are with regard to Paris: and in both kingdoms the ſame balance holds between the inhabitants of the country and thoſe of the cities: though in England the country people ſeem to have greatly the advantage, as they taſte that felicity which was enjoyed by the people of Iſrael in the days of

* In croſſing the Thames, I have been rowed by watermen dreſſed in ſilk ſtockings.

their proſperity: * *Habitabat unuſquiſque abſque timore ullo, ſub vite ſua, & ſub ficu ſua, & comedebat de ficu ſua & vinea ſua, & bibebat de ciſternis ſuis:* a condition, which had been preceded and followed by ages of blood and tears, in which the drooping huſbandmen † *euntes ibant & flebant, mittentes ſemina ſua,* Pſ. cxxvi.

To enable the reader to form a judgment of the dearneſs at London, I ſhall here give a liſt of their prices during the time of my reſidence in that city: bread was 2½ or 3 d. a pound; coarſe meat 4½ d.; roaſting beef 8 d. — d.; bacon 10 d.; butter 11d.; candles 7 ½ d.; the price of a milchcow was 12 or 14 guineas: an acre of land, in the neighbourhood of London, was let for four or five pounds; and a cart-full of dung, taken at London, was valued at twelve ſhillings. This great dearneſs of proviſions excited murmuring and clamours amongſt the people; but it did not cauſe a famine: and the parliament never once thought of taking it into conſideration, till urged by the long and earneſt ſolicitations of the people, who tumultuouſly applied for redreſs. The only meaſures taken by the legiſlature were, laying an embargo upon Engliſh corn, and ſuffering the importation of foreign grain, during three months. In the debates upon this occaſion, one of the firſt peers of England obſerved, that the dearneſs of proviſions was not ſo much a proof of a dearth of corn, as of the great ſuperfluity of gold and ſilver, which war and commerce had brought into the kingdom; that the country partook of that ſuperfluity, which extended even to the farmer; in fine, that it

* Each man lived, without fear, under his own vine, and his own fig-tree, and ate of the fruit thereof, and drank out of his own ciſterns.

† They went forth and wept, ſcattering their ſeed.

ſhould not be conſidered as an evil which required their ſerious attention, but as one of the ſtrongeſt ties that could be conceived to bind and attach the people to the government, in the preſent ſtate of affairs. This declaration having taken air, occaſioned an inſurrection amongſt the populace, which I ſhall give an account of elſewhere.

The Engliſh bread is very good, and very fine, though it has a great deal of crumb. It was the Engliſh, that firſt thought of uſing yeſt or the flower of beer for leaven to make bread; a cuſtom, which, with great difficulty, began to obtain at Paris about the middle of the laſt century. The firſt edition of the Hiſtory of the Police of Paris preſents us with extraordinary papers relative to the conteſts which it occaſioned. The Parliament of Paris, taking cognizance of this affair, conſulted the moſt eminent citizens, together with the gentlemen of the faculty, and were almoſt for conſulting the Sorbonne; their contradictory opinions increaſing the difficulty, inſtead of diminiſhing it, the little loaves continued in poſſeſſion of the yeſt or flower of beer. The caſe will, no doubt, be the ſame with regard to inoculation, for which likewiſe all Europe is indebted to England. Thoſe who are intereſted on either ſide of the queſtion, cannot read the pieces relative to this affair, collected by the commiſſioner la Marre, without the higheſt ſatisfaction; eſpecially the opinion of the famous bookſeller Vitré: that piece could not diſcover more humour, if Moliere himſelf had drawn it up.

The butter and tea, which the Londoners live upon from morning till three or four o'clock in the afternoon, occaſion the chief conſumption of bread, which is cut in ſlices, and ſo thin, that it does as much honour to the addreſs of the perſon that cuts it, as to the ſharpneſs of the knife. Two or

three

three of theſe ſlices furniſh out a breakfaſt. They are no leſs ſparing in their other meals: what would be ſcarce enough for a Frenchman of an ordinary appetite, would ſuffice three hungry Engliſhmen. They ſeem to eat bread merely through fear of being thought to eat none at their meals: as this is the national taſte, their phyſicians look upon bread as the heavieſt of all aliments, and the hardeſt of digeſtion. 'Tis this taſte, and the cuſtom eſtabliſhed in conſequence of it, which enables the Engliſh to export a prodigious quantity of corn: an exportation, which does not ſo much prove their being overſtocked with that commodity, as their uſing but little. Of conſequence, a ſcarcity of corn is not much felt, even by the common people, who could go without bread, if circumſtances required it.

From hence it may be inferred, by the way, that the cultivation of land is regulated by different principles in France from thoſe which direct it in England, where one half of the ground, both is, and ought to be, laid out in paſtures and fields for grazing cattle.

MEAT.

I had heard a great deal of the excellence of the meat which is eaten in England; but, after having uſed it in all the different ſhapes in which it is ſerved up to tables, that is to ſay, both roaſt and boiled, I could find in it neither the conſiſtence, the juice, nor the exquiſiteneſs, of that of France. Their fowls are ſoft and flabby; the veal has all the imperfection of fleſh not completely formed; the mutton has nothing to recommend it but its fat, which is ſo much the more diſguſting, as the butchers do not take off the tallow: even their beef itſelf, which

which is a leſs compact fleſh, and more eaſily divided than that of France, and of conſequence more eaſily chewed and digeſted, could deceive only by that circumſtance, and its exceſſive fatneſs *, thoſe Frenchmen, who prefer it to that of their own country. The compariſon between the two is decided by a fact that happens every day. The Engliſh are ſtrangers to ſoups, and to what in France goes by the name of Bouillé. If they ſometimes have broths for the ſick, or ſoup for foreigners, the meat, with which they make it, is never after to be ſeen, at leaſt at great tables; as it is totally exhauſted and deprived of its juice, it is no longer fit to be ſerved up, or to be eaten: it is nothing elſe but a *caput mortuum*. The boiled meat brought to table, paſſes on the fire only the time requiſite for its boiling; and the water is thrown away. Whilſt I reſided in London, on the days that I dined at home, I ordered the pot to be put on; and if the beef boiled above two hours, it was no longer fit to be eaten; but the ſoup was the better. Shortening the operation, we contrived to have a bouillé, which ſtill retained ſome of the juices, but at the expence of the ſoup, which the Engliſh chuſe rather to go without, more through neceſſity than choice.

If from vegetation we can draw any juſt concluſion, with regard to animal nutrition, that of England will explain to us, why the fleſh of animals, each of which is of a conſiderable ſize in its kind, is there leſs firm, leſs compact, and leſs ſucculent, than in France. In a mild climate, which is neither ſubject to the violent heats or exceſſive colds of France, the Engliſh atmoſphere, loaded with fogs,

* That exceſſive fat of the meat eaten by the Engliſh ſeems to verify, with reſpect to them, the prophecy of Ezekiel, xxxix. 19. "And ye ſhall eat fat, till ye be full."

and

and always humid, by haſtening vegetation, renders it ſtronger and more vigorous, on account of the uniform ſuppleneſs preſerved by the ſtrainers in which the nutritious juices circulate. It is eaſy to perceive this, at leaſt, in ſuch parts of England, as I have travelled through, from a view of the trees, whether cut down or growing. The elm, for example, as well in its trunk as in its branches and its bark, reſembles the poplar of France: and the poplar, when grown to its full thickneſs, bears a likeneſs to the willows of France in their full vigour: all theſe trees are equally covered with a ſort of moſs, or rather down, light and of a greeniſh colour, which may be rubbed off with the hand, and is doubtleſs as much the effect of an eaſy tranſpiration, as of the humidity of the atmoſphere. Hence it is, that in England, plane-trees, and others of that ſort, which are cultivated in compliance with faſhion, have that prodigious celerity in growing, which the climate of France can never attain to.

Extend this analogy to herbs, and to all the leſſer vegetables which cattle feed upon *; extend it alſo to animal nutrition; and it will reſult from thence, that the fleſh of Engliſh animals, being of a ſubſtance leſs firm, leſs compact, and leſs ſolid, than that of animals in France, is not equally able to bear the operation which prepares the beſt diſh in French cookery. 'Tis perhaps for this reaſon, that our ſalt beef is ſo much inferior to the ſalt beef of England and Ireland, that thoſe who fit out our veſſels give it the preference: fleſh takes ſalt more or leſs, as well as all the preparations which ſalting requires, in proportion to the greater or leſs denſity of its parts.

* Hence ariſes the perfection of milk, whey, &c. in London, where the conſumption of this commodity is double to what it is at Paris.

The Iſle of Man, which lies at an equal diſtance from England, Scotland, and Ireland, is, in this reſpect, the very reverſe of England; its ſoil, which is lofty, deſtitute of woods, and open to all the winds, is ſtocked with men and animals of the moſt diminutive ſort. But theſe animals, if compared with thoſe of England, are, for ſubſtance and juice, what a ſheep of the plains of Champagne is in France, in compariſon of the ſame kind of animal bred in the rich paſtures of Normandy.

The price of garden-ſtuff is in London proportionably dear with other commodities *, and they are not much better than the reſt. All that grow in the country about London, cabbage, radiſhes, and ſpinnage, being impregnated with the ſmoke of ſea-coal, which fills the atmoſphere of that town, have a very diſagreeable taſte, which they communicate to the meat wherewith they have been boiled. I ate nothing good of this ſort in London, but ſome aſparagus, which doubtleſs grew at a good diſtance from that capital. It is to be further remarked, that the conſtant mildneſs of the climate of England ſuperſedes moſt of thoſe precautions, which the French gardeners are obliged to obſerve. They ſow almoſt every thing in unprepared ground, more or leſs covered with rich mould. I ſaw no hot-beds, except at the country-ſeats of gentlemen, whoſe gardens are kept in the moſt elegant manner.

CLEANLINESS.

THE humid and dark air which enwraps London, requires the greateſt cleanlineſs imaginable; and in this reſpect, the inhabitants of that city ſeem to vie

* A leek was ſold for a penny.

with

with the Hollanders. The plate, hearth-ſtones, moveables, apartments, doors, ſtairs, the very ſtreet-doors, their locks, and the large braſs knockers, are every day waſhed, ſcowered, or rubbed. Even in lodging-houſes, the middle of the ſtairs is often covered with carpeting, to prevent them from being ſoiled. All the apartments in the houſe have mats or carpets; and the uſe of them has been adopted ſome years ſince by the French.

But what is an article of neceſſity in England, is mere extravagance in France. The houſes in London are all wainſcoted with deal; the ſtairs and the floors are compoſed of the ſame materials, and cannot bear the continual rubbing of feet without being cracked and worn. This renders carpets or coverings neceſſary. Add to this, that theſe floors, which are of excellent deal, and are waſhed and rubbed almoſt daily, have a whitiſh appearance, and an air of freſhneſs and cleanlineſs, which the fineſt inlaid floor has not always*.

'Tis purely to defend themſelves againſt humidity, that the Engliſh make ſo conſtant a practice of waſhing their apartments; a cuſtom, which renders a fire abſolutely neceſſary, when it might be moſt eaſy to do without one: but even in thoſe ſeaſons it would, as they affirm, be ſtill more neceſſary, if the water did not abſorb the humidity which the air leaves behind it, wherever it pervades. Hence London would be uninhabitable, if, to ſupply it with conſtant fewel, it had not a reſource in ſea-coal, which immenſe foreſts would be inſufficient to furniſh.

* This taſte for cleanlineſs has baniſhed from London thoſe little dogs, which are kept at Paris by perſons of all ranks, and fill the houſes, the ſtreets, and the churches.

To ſhew how unlike London is to Paris, both in this want, and in the methods of ſupplying it, it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that in the month of May all the apartments in the Britiſh Muſeum, apartments as extraordinary on account of their number as their ſize, had a fire in them; not ſo much to warm the rooms, as to preſerve from damps and humidity the books, the manuſcripts, the maps, and the curious collections of all ſorts, depoſited in that fine building. The public libraries of Paris, even the king's, ſtand in no need of fires, for the preſervation of their precious depoſits: the precaution uſed in London to prevent the curioſities of the Muſeum from being injured by the damps, is equal to their care in airing thoſe of Paris.

SERVANTS.

THE neatneſs of the Londoners in their apartments, and in every article of furniture, requires great care in the ſervants; yet they do not appear to give themſelves much trouble about it, but are more ſedulouſly employed in attending upon their maſters. Under the article *Arts*, I ſhall ſpeak of a chimney-piece, the ſculpture of which, formed of elegant figures, and almoſt all in relievo, made me tremble for this maſter-piece of art, which was to be delivered up to ſervants. I intimated my apprehenſions to the ſculptor himſelf, in whoſe ſhop it then ſtood; but he aſſured me, that his work would be the better, for paſſing through their hands. In a word, the care of ſervants is here equal to the punctuality of maſters, who, generally ſpeaking, follow one invariable order in the whole progreſs of their lives. All the domeſtics of the citizens are dreſſed in plain,

but

but good cloaths; and inſolence is not the characteriſtic of any in that ſtation of life. Coachmen, as a mark of diſtinction, wear an upper coat adorned with a long cape of two or three rows, each of which has a fringe. With this upper coat wrapped round them, their bodies bent, and their legs ſwinging backwards and forwards, they cut the ſame figure on the coach-box as thoſe modiſh coachmen who make the pavement of Paris ſparkle. With regard to outward appearance and demeanour, the coachman of a miniſter, or of the firſt nobleman, or of the moſt eminent merchant in London, has nothing to diſtinguiſh him from his comrades, who do not ſeem to conſider even the meaneſt hackney-coachmen as their inferiors.

The ſervant-maids of citizens wives, the waiting women of ladies of the firſt quality, and of the middling gentry, attend their ladies in the ſtreets and in the public walks, in ſuch a dreſs, that, if the miſtreſs be not known, it is no eaſy matter to diſtinguiſh her from her maid.

The aſſiduity, the care, the cleanlineſs, and the induſtry, which the Engliſh require in their ſervants, fix the value of their wages; that is to ſay, their wages are very conſiderable. The reader may form a judgment of them, from thoſe given by my landlord to a fat Welſh girl, who was juſt come out of the country, ſcarce underſtood a word of Engliſh, was capable of nothing but waſhing, ſcowering, and ſweeping the rooms, and had no inclination to learn any thing more. The wages of this girl were ſix guineas a year, beſides a guinea a year for her tea, which all ſervant-maids either take in money, or have it found for them twice a day. The wages of a cook-maid, who knows how to roaſt and boil, amount to twenty guineas a year. The vales received by footmen double their wages. Theſe vales are not exactions

actions upon foreigners alone, as is generally thought: all Engliſhmen are obliged to pay them; and they pay them punctually, even when they viſit their friends and neareſt relations. My landlady's ſiſter paid theſe vales every time ſhe came to dine with her. The nobility of Scotland were the firſt to make an effort to exempt foreigners from theſe exactions; hence they entered into an aſſociation, the chief aim of which was, to increaſe the wages of ſervants. Lord Morton informed me of this, when I dined at his houſe: he gave me to underſtand, that he was one of thoſe who were at the head of the aſſociation. In other houſes of perſons of the ſame rank, which I have dined at, the ſame orders were given, no doubt: ſo as I did not ſee the ſervants range themſelves in a file to receive money, I walked out with all that freedom of air which is ſo natural to Frenchmen. The news-papers have been filled with accounts of the refractorineſs of ſervants, occaſioned by the ſuppreſſion of the old cuſtom of giving vales. It ſeems, however, highly probable, the maſters will gain their point, if the Engliſh do not take it into their heads that their liberty is thereby infringed. Notwithſtanding this practice (which prevails in ſome meaſure at Rome, and in part of Italy), the cards are gratis in houſes where people play. The duke de Nivernois, whilſt he was negociating the peace at London, adopted this cuſtom of the Engliſh.

HOUSES.

HOUSE-RENT is another article extremely expenſive. All the houſes in London, excepting only a few in the heart of the city, belong to undertakers, who build upon ground, of which a leaſe is taken for forty, ſixty, or ninety-nine years, upon com-

condition of ſurrendering the houſe in its then preſent condition to the proprietor of the ground, as ſoon as the leaſe is expired: the agreement made, the ſolidity of the building is meaſured by the duration of the leaſe, as the ſhoe by the foot.

Thoſe which are let for a ſhorter term have, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, only the ſoul of a houſe: *de canna ſtraminibuſque domos.* It is true, the outſide appears to be built of brick; but the wall conſiſts only of a ſingle row of bricks; and thoſe being made of the firſt earth that comes to hand, and only juſt warmed at the fire, are in ſtrength ſcarce equal to thoſe ſquare tiles or pieces of earth, dried in the ſun, which, in certain countries, are uſed to build houſes. In the new quarters of London, brick is often made upon the ſpot where the buildings themſelves are erected; and the workmen make uſe of the earth which they find in digging the foundations. With this earth they mix, as a phlogiſton, the aſhes gathered in London by the duſtmen. I have even been aſſured, that the excrements taken out of neceſſary-houſes entered into the compoſition of bricks of this ſort.

The inſide of theſe buildings is as much neglected as the outſide: ſmall pieces of deal ſupply the place of beams; all the wainſcoting is of deal, and the thinneſt that can poſſibly be found. This makes the rooms wider, and contributes to leſſen the expence. The apartments are wainſcoted two thirds of their height; and the ſaſhes have pullies, by which they can be lifted up and pulled down with eaſe. In houſes built in this manner, it is eaſy to conceive the progreſs and the ravages made by fires, which are ſometimes unavoidable. By virtue of an agreement with the undertakers, the proprietors of the ground

ground inſure and renew conſiderable funds, which theſe grounds produce; the undertakers do not chuſe to leave in their families the ſeeds of thoſe everlaſting law-ſuits, which take their riſe from inſurances and mortgages. The citizens lodge as cheaply as they can, conſidering how exorbitant rent is in general: in a word, the Engliſh, as well as the Orientaliſts, find every moment ſomething to remind them, that the tomb is the only ſure and laſting habitation of man.

All the houſes in London, whether ſolidly or ſlightly built, are inſured againſt accidental fires. The price for inſuring is ſettled, in proportion to the rent; and thoſe who inſure are obliged to run the riſk. Independent of the ſpirit of calculation, which ſeems to govern England, this eſtabliſhment owes its origin to the deep impreſſion, which the great fire of London in 1666 made upon the minds of the inhabitants.

Thoſe who let lodgings have the ſame advantage with regard to the furniture; which ſome public offices ſecure to them at the bottom of an inventory, made between them and the inſurers.

Theſe expedients, which ſeem to promiſe an eternal duration to London, have not yet been made uſe of at Paris.

I have already obſerved, that lodging is exorbitantly dear at London. To convince the reader of this, it will be ſufficient to inform him, that the houſe in which I occupied an apartment, built upon an irregular ground in the form of a harpſichord, only ſixty feet high, and fourteen broad, and which had but three ſtories, comprizing the kitchen, a pantry, and other places below ſtairs, was rented at thirty-eight guineas a year: the landlord was, moreover, obliged to pay a guinea a year for water, with which

which the houſes of London are ſupplied at that yearly taxation, beſides two towards the poors tax, and three for window-lights, ſcavengers, and the watch.

This water, with which all the houſes in London are ſupplied, is regularly diſtributed to them three times a week, in proportion to the quantity made uſe of by each houſe. It comes through ſubterraneous pipes, of a diameter ſuited to the quantity to be diſtributed; from whence it is received and preſerved in great leaden ciſterns.

This water, which is but indifferent, is ſupplied by the Thames, from whence it is raiſed by fire-engines, the firſt of which was invented, and placed at the bottom of London-bridge, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, by a native of Germany. A French refugee, named Savari, ſince brought this machine to perfection, and the celebrated Dr. Deſaguilliers has given a deſcription of it: a French phyſician has alſo made uſe of it to ſweeten ſalt water. Count d' Herouville had recourſe to it likewiſe in draining the marſhes, ſome years ſince, in the neighbourhood of Dunkirk. The vapour of the water raiſed and rarefied by the ebullition is the ſpring of this machine; a ſpring, whoſe force would be incredible, if its effects did not convince us of its power.

Thoſe parts of London, which are moſt diſtant from the Thames, or which ſtand upon high ground, were without water. A worthy citizen ſupplied this want, by a plan, of which mention will be made amongſt the Patriotic Eſtabliſhments.

PUBLIC WALKS.

BESIDES St. James's Park, the Green Park, and Hyde-park, the two laſt of which are continuations of the firſt, and which, like the Tuilleries at Paris, lie at the extremity of the metropolis, London has ſeveral public walks, which are ſo much the more agreeable to the Engliſh, as they are leſs frequented and more ſolitary than the Park. Such are the gardens contained within the compaſs of the Temple, of Gray's-inn, and Lincoln's-inn. They conſiſt of graſs-plats, which are kept in excellent order, and planted with trees, either cut regularly, or with high ſtocks: ſome of them have a part laid out for culinary uſes. The graſs-plats of the gardens at Lincoln's-inn are adorned with ſtatues, which, taken all together, form a ſcene very pleaſing to the eye.

St. James's Park and its appurtenances are not kept in ſuch good order as theſe gardens which belong to particular buildings. In that part neareſt to Weſtminſter, nature appears in all its ruſtic ſimplicity: it is a meadow, regularly interſected and watered by canals, and with willows and poplars, without any regard to order. On this ſide, as well as on that towards St. James's palace, the graſs-plats are covered with cows and deer, where they graze, or chew the cud, ſome ſtanding, others lying down upon the graſs: this gives the walks a lively air, which baniſhes ſolitude from them when there is but little company: when they are full, they unite in one proſpect, the crowd, the grandeur, and the magnificence of a city, as wealthy as populous, in the moſt ſtriking contraſt with rural ſimplicity.

Agree-

Agreeably to this rural ſimplicity, moſt of theſe cows are driven about noon and evening to the gate, which leads from the Park to the quarter of Whitehall. Tied in a file to poſts at the extremity of the graſs-plat, they ſwill paſſengers with their milk, which, being drawn from their udders upon the ſpot, is ſerved, with all the cleanlineſs peculiar to the Engliſh, in little mugs, at the rate of a penny a mug.

WINES.

I was as little uſed to milk as to beer and tea; I was ſoon reconciled to all theſe; but I could never accuſtom myſelf to the wine of London.

The red wine is uſually of three ſorts, namely, Port, Bourdeaux, and Burgundy; the white wine is either Spaniſh or Canary. Port wine, leaving no taſte in the mouth, acts upon the ſtomach only by its weight; the Bourdeaux wine, of the thickeſt and ſtrongeſt ſort, is heightened and enlivened by an infuſion of ſpirits. I have drunk Burgundy at very good tables: it coſt ſix ſhillings the bottle; but it left in the mouth a ſort of a taſte like that of brandy. With regard to the white wine, it is for the moſt part made in England: the Engliſh drink this wine ſuch as it is, and it is to their taſte.

With regard to red wines, I was informed by a vintner, a maſter of his buſineſs, that the country people gather in the hedges round London the ſloes and blackberries, which they publicly ſell to the wine-merchants; that many of theſe merchants have in the country brambles and wild ſhrubs, which bear fruits of this ſort; and when they are ripe, the vintage commences in London: that is to ſay, the wines then begin to be brewed, the chief ingredient of which is the juice of turneps boiled to a total diſſolution.

This juice, mixed with that of wild fruit, with beer, and litharge, after a ſlight fermentation, produces the Port wine, drunk at taverns and places of public diverſion in and about London: it is an ingredient, which is blended, according to the rules of the vintners art, in a greater or leſs quantity, with all their Bourdeaux wine, and even their Burgundy, which, as it comes out of the hands of many wine-merchants, often conſiſts only of the poor dregs of Languedoc and Provence.

I drank no pure unmixed wine, except in two houſes: firſt, at that of a French banker, who, having a correſpondent at Liſbon, conſidered it as a high advantage, to be ſupplied with Port wine in its pure and natural ſtate; this wine, which is of a deep colour, but lively, and of a very high ſpirit, reſembled the beſt claret in right order, ſuch as is drank at Bourdeaux itſelf.

The ſurgeon, in whoſe company I travelled from Dover to London, had brought from France two bottles of Maçon wine of the beſt ſort: happening in my walks to paſs through the part of the town where he lived, I went to pay him a viſit; he took me into his cloſet, and drew out of a cheſt, in which he kept his moſt precious effects, one of the above-mentioned bottles of Macon wine, out of which we drank a glaſs a-piece to all our friends in France.

Great Britain has formerly had its vineyards in certain parts of Wales, and even in ſome of its northern provinces. The continual variation of the temperature of the air, and the conſtant humidity of the climate, were by no means favourable to theſe vineyards; the grapes being ſeldom compleatly ripened, it is eaſy to gueſs what ſort of wine they produced. Since a regular cultivation has enabled Eng-

England to make the beſt of its ſoil, the farmer, neglecting vineyards,

Feliciores conſerit arbores;

and has confined his care to walks of vine-trees, twined about latticed frames, that furniſh him, at his deſerts, with a ſort of grape, which, though expoſed to the ſun in the moſt advantageous manner, ſeldom attains to a compleat maturity.

I have, notwithſtanding, ſeen at Cobham, in a fine park belonging to Mr. Hamilton, a vineyard, properly expoſed to the ſun, where about half an acre of land is planted with Burgundian vines. From ſeveral different places was brought that ſort of earth, ſuppoſed to be moſt ſuitable to the cultivation of theſe trees, which the owner of the park is greatly attached to, and upon which he ſpares neither care nor expence. When I ſaw this vineyard, they had juſt fitted up the vine-props, which were nothing elſe but pieces of the great poles uſed in hop-grounds. I told the vine-dreſſer my opinion of this bad method of propping the vines. In fact, theſe poles, by their ſize, and their being ſet up ſo cloſe to each other, make a ſhade, which is moſt hurtful to the vine; and the juices which come from them as they rot, mixing with thoſe by which the vine is ſupported, totally weaken and deſtroy them. The vine-dreſſer liſtened attentively to my obſervations, and promiſed to ſubſtitute in the place of the poles abovementioned the ſmalleſt rods that he could poſſibly procure.

I have ſince taſted wine, the product of that vineyard; to the eye, it was a liquor of a darkiſh grey colour; to the palate, it was like verjuice and vinegar blended together by a bad taſte of the ſoil.

Such is the natural ſtate of London. Let us now turn our reflections to the animated part of that metropolis: I mean, the inhabitants; who, in my firſt

excurſion, the day after my arrival, aſtoniſhed me more than the city which they inhabit.

THE PEOPLE.

AMONGST the people of London we ſhould properly diſtinguiſh the porters, ſailors, chairmen, and the day-labourers who work in the ſtreets, not only from perſons of condition, moſt of whom walk a-foot, merely becauſe it is their fancy, but even from the loweſt claſs of ſhop-keepers.

The former are as inſolent a rabble as can be met with in countries without law or police. The French, whom their rudeneſs is chiefly levelled at, would be in the wrong to complain, ſince even the better ſort of Londoners are not exempt from it. Inquire of them your way to a ſtreet: if it be upon the right, they direct you to the left, or they ſend you from one of their vulgar comrades to another. The moſt ſhocking abuſe and ill language make a part of their pleaſantry upon theſe occaſions. To be aſſailed in ſuch manner, it is not abſolutely neceſſary to be engaged in converſation with them: it is ſufficient to paſs by them. My French air, notwithſtanding the ſimplicity of my dreſs, drew upon me, at the corner of every ſtreet, a volley of abuſive litanies, in the midſt of which I ſlipt on, returning thanks to God, that I did not underſtand Engliſh. The conſtant burthen of theſe litanies was, French dog, French b——: to make any anſwer to them, was accepting a challenge to fight; and my curioſity did not carry me ſo far. I ſaw in the ſtreets a ſcuffle of this kind, between a porter and a Frenchman, who ſpit in his face, not being able to make any other anſwer to the torrent of abuſe which the former poured out againſt the latter without any

provocation. The late Marſhal Saxe, walking through London ſtreets, happened to have a diſpute with a ſcavenger, which ended in a boxing bout, wherein his dexterity received the general applauſe of the ſpectators: he let the ſcavenger come upon him, then ſeized him by the neck, and made him fly up into the air, in ſuch a direction, that he fell into the middle of his cart, which was brimful of dirt.

Happening to paſs one day through Chelſea, in company with an Engliſh gentleman, a number of watermen drew themſelves up in a line, and attacked him, on my account, with all the opprobrious terms which the Engliſh language can ſupply, ſucceeding each other, like ſtudents who defend a theſis: at the third attack, my friend ſtepping ſhort, cried out to them, that they ſaid the fineſt things in the world, but unluckily he was deaf: and that, as for me, I did not underſtand a word of Engliſh, and that their wit was of conſequence thrown away upon me. This remonſtrance appeaſed them, and they returned laughing to their buſineſs.

M. de la Condamine, in his journey to London two or three years ago, was followed wherever he went, by a numerous crowd, who were drawn together by a great tube of block tin, which he had always to his ear; by an unfolded map of London which he held in his hand; and by frequent pauſes, whenever he met with any object worthy of his attention. At his firſt going abroad, being frequently hemmed in by the crowd, which prevented his advancing forward, he cried out to his interpreter, "What would all theſe people have?" Upon this, the interpreter, applying his mouth to the tube, anſwered by crying out to him, "They are making game of you." At laſt they became uſed to the ſight; and ceaſed to crowd about him, as he walked the ſtreets.

The day after my arrival, my ſervant diſcovered, by ſad experience, what liberties the mob are accuſtomed to take with the French, and all who have the appearance of being ſuch. He had followed the crowd to Tyburn, where three rogues were hanged, two of whom were father and ſon. The execution being over, as he was returning home through Oxford-road, with the remains of the numerous multitude which had been preſent at the execution, he was attacked by two or three blackguards; and the crowd having ſoon ſurrounded him, he made a ſtand for the rabble. Jack Ketch, the executioner, joined in the ſport, and, entering the circle, ſtruck the poor ſufferer upon the ſhoulder. They began to drag him about by the ſkirts of his coat, and by his ſhoulder-knot; when, luckily for him, he was perceived by three grenadiers belonging to the French guards, who, having deſerted, and croſſed the ſeas, were then drinking at an ale-houſe hard by the ſcene of action. Armed with ſuch weapons as chance preſented them, they ſuddenly attacked the mob, laid on ſoundly upon ſuch as came within their reach, and brought their countryman off ſafe to the ale-houſe, and from thence, to my lodgings. Seven or eight campaigns, which he had ſerved with an officer in the gens-d'armes, and a year which he afterwards paſſed in Italy, had not ſufficiently inured him to bear this rough treatment: it had a moſt ſurprizing effect upon him. He ſhut himſelf up in the houſe a fortnight, where he vented his indignation in continual imprecations againſt England and the Engliſh. Strong and robuſt as he was, if he had had any knowledge of the language and the country, he might have come off nobly, by propoſing a boxing-bout to the man whom he thought weakeſt amongſt the crowd of aſſailants: if victorious, he would have been honourably brought home,

home, and had his triumph celebrated even by thoſe who now joined againſt him. This is the firſt law of this ſpecies of combat; a law, which the Engliſh punctually obſerve in the heat of battle, where the vanquiſhed always find a generous conqueror in that nation. This ſhould ſeem to prove, in contradiction to Hobbes, that, in the ſtate of nature, a ſtate with which the ſtreet-ſcuffles of London are cloſely connected, man, who is by fits wicked and cruel, is, at the bottom, good-natured and generous.

I have already obſerved, that the Engliſh themſelves are not ſecure from the inſolence of the London mob. I had a proof of this from the young ſurgeon, who accompanied me from Paris to Boulogne.

At the firſt viſit which he paid me in London, he informed me, that, a few days after his arrival, happening to take a walk through the fields on the Surry ſide of the Thames, dreſſed in a little green frock, which he had brought from Paris, he was attacked by three of thoſe gentlemen of the mobility, who, taking him for a Frenchman, not only abuſed him with the foulеſt language, but gave him two or three ſlaps on the face: "Luckily, added he in French, I did not return their ill language; for, if I had, they would certainly have thrown me into the Thames, as they aſſured me they would, as ſoon as they perceived I was an Engliſhman, if I ever happened to come in their way again, in my Paris dreſs."

A Portugueſe of my acquaintance, taking a walk in the ſame fields, with three of his countrymen, their converſation in Portugueſe was interrupted by two watermen, who, doubling their fiſts at them, cried, "French dogs, ſpeak your damned French, if you dare."

I ſay nothing of the throwing of ſtones one day about noon, in the midſt of Holborn, into a coach, where I happened to be, with three Frenchmen, one of whom was ſtruck on the ſhoulder: thoſe ſtones might, perhaps, have been aimed elſewhere, and have hit us only by accident.

Happening to go one evening from the part of the town where I lived, to the Muſeum, I paſſed by the Seven Dials. The place was crowded with people, waiting to ſee a poor wretch ſtand in the pillory, whoſe puniſhment was deferred to another day. The mob, provoked at this diſappointment, vented their rage upon all that paſſed that way, whether a-foot or in coaches; and threw at them dirt, rotten eggs, dead dogs, and all ſorts of traſh and ordure, which they had provided to pelt the unhappy wretch, according to cuſtom. Their fury fell chiefly upon the hackney coaches, the drivers of which they forced to ſalute them with their whips and their hats, and to cry *huzza:* which word is the ſignal for rallying in all public frays. The diſturbance, upon this occaſion, was ſo much the greater, as the perſon who was to have acted the principal part in the ſcene, which, by being poſtponed, had put the rabble into ſuch an ill humour, belonged to the nation which that rabble thinks it has moſt right to inſult.

In England, no rank or dignity is ſecure from their inſults. The young queen herſelf was expoſed to them upon her firſt arrival at London: the rabble was affronted at her majeſty's keeping one window of her ſedan-chair drawn up.

This inſolence is conſidered by many only as the humour and pleaſantry of porters and watermen; but this humour and pleaſantry was, in the hands of the

the long parliament, one of their chief weapons againſt Charles the Firſt.

The politeneſs, the civility, and the officiouſneſs of people of good breeding, whom we meet in the ſtreets, as well as the obliging readineſs of the citizens and ſhopkeepers, even of the inferior ſort, ſufficiently indemnify and conſole us for the inſolence of the mob; as I have often experienced.

Whatever haſte a gentleman may be in, whom you happen to meet in the ſtreets; as ſoon as you ſpeak to him, he ſtops to anſwer, and often ſteps out of his way to direct you, or to conſign you to the care of ſome one who ſeems to be going the ſame way. A gentleman one day put me in this manner under the care of a handſome young directreſs, who was returning home with a fine young child in her arms. I travelled on very agreeably, though I had a great way to go, lending an arm to my guide; and we converſed together as well as two perſons could do, one of whom ſcarce underſtood a word ſpoken by the other. I had frequent converſations of this ſort in the ſtreets, in which, notwithſtanding all the pains I took to make myſelf underſtood, and others took to underſtand me, I could not ſucceed: I then would quit my guide, and ſay to him, with a laugh, and ſqueeze of the hand, *Tower of Babylon!* He would laugh on his ſide likewiſe, and ſo we uſed to part.

Having occaſion to inquire for a certain perſon in Oxford-road, I ſhewed his addreſs at the firſt ſhop I came to; when out ſtepped a young man, in white ſilk ſtockings, a waiſtcoat of fine cloth, and an apron about his waiſt. After having examined whether I was able to follow him, he made me a ſign, and began to run on before me. During this race, which was from

from one end of the ſtreet to the other, I thought that my guide had intereſt in view; and therefore I got ready a ſhilling, which I offered him, upon arriving at the proper place; but he refuſed it with generous diſdain, and taking hold of my hand, which he ſhook violently, he thanked me for the pleaſure I had procured him. I afterwards ſaw him at the tabernacle of the Methodiſts.

To take a man in this manner by the arm, and ſhake it till his ſhoulder is almoſt diſlocated, is one of the grand teſtimonies of friendſhip, which the Engliſh give each other, when they happen to meet: this they do very coolly; there is no expreſſion of friendſhip in their countenances, yet the whole ſoul enters the arm which gives the ſhake. This ſupplies the place of the embraces and ſalutes of the French. The Engliſh ſeem to regulate their behaviour, upon theſe occaſions, by the rules preſcribed by Alexander Severus, to thoſe who approached his perſon*.

I met with the ſame politeneſs and civil treatment at all the public and private aſſemblies, to which I was admitted. At the houſe of lords, as well as at the houſe of commons, a foreigner may take the liberty to addreſs himſelf to any gentleman, who underſtands his language; and thoſe who are applied to, upon theſe occaſions, think it their duty to anſwer his queſtions. At the firſt meeting of the houſe of lords to try lord Byron, I happened to be ſeated a-

* *Si quis caput flexiſſet aut blandius aliquid dixiſſet, uti adulator, vel abjiciebatur, ſi loci ejus qualitas pateretur; vel rhetoris ingenii cachinno, ſi ejus dignitas majori ſubjacere non poſſet injuriæ.* Lamprid. in Alex. Sever.

If any courtier bowed in a cringing manner, or uſed flattering expreſſions, he was either baniſhed the court, if the nature of his place admitted of it; or turned into ridicule, if his dignity exempted him from any ſeverer puniſhment. *Lamprid. Life of Alexander Severus.*

midſt

midſt a family, as much diſtinguiſhed by their high rank as their amiable qualities. They all ſhewed the utmoſt eagerneſs to ſatisfy my curioſity, with regard to the ſeveral particulars of this extraordinary ſpectacle; to explain to me all that was ſaid; to inſtruct me with regard to the origin of the moſt remarkable ceremonies; and, in fine, to ſhare with me the refreſhments, which the length of the trial made it neceſſary for them to provide.

When the king came to the houſe of lords, to give the royal aſſent to bills, one of the biſhops, near whom I was ſeated, offered to be my interpreter; and he took upon him to ſerve me in that capacity, during the whole time I ſtaid.

At the courts of common pleas, king's bench, and exchequer, in Weſtminſter, I ſeated myſelf amongſt the lawyers; and upon my ſpeaking French to the two next me, neither of whom happened to underſtand that language, one of them roſe, and brought a brother lawyer, who, being acquainted with the French tongue, explained to me the beſt he could all that paſſed.

At the play-houſes, and other public diverſions, I had the ſame good fortune. Thoſe that did not underſtand me, were eager to look for ſomebody that did; and my interpreter, who had taken a bottle of wine with him, never drank without afterwards preſenting me with it: I made it a rule to drink, becauſe, having declined the firſt time it was offered, I was given to underſtand, that ſuch a refuſal was contrary to the laws of Engliſh politeneſs.

It muſt, however, be obſerved, that this obliging behaviour is not accompanied with all thoſe external demonſtrations of civility, which are cuſtomary upon ſuch occaſions in France. If an Engliſh gentleman, who did not underſtand me, went in queſt of

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an interpreter, he roſe, and quitted me with an air, which ſeemed rather to be that of a whimſical humouriſt, than of a gentleman who was going to do a polite action; and I ſaw no more of him.

I met with the ſame civility and complaiſance amongſt all the ſhop-keepers, whether great or little. The tradeſman ſent his ſon or his daughter to me, who often ſerved me as guide, after having firſt acted as an interpreter: for ſome years paſt, the French language has been taught as univerſally as the Engliſh, in all the boarding-ſchools of London; ſo that French will ſoon be, by choice, the language of the people of England, as it was, by conſtraint and neceſſity, under the Norman kings: this is a demonſtration, that the antipathy of that nation for every thing belonging to the French is not univerſal and without exception.

Some viſionary people maintain, that this antipathy runs in the blood of the Engliſh:

Littora littoribus contraria, fluctibu undas;

but it is eaſy to diſcover other cauſes of it, which though they do not juſtify, render it, in ſome meaſure, ſupportable to the French.

I ſhall ſay nothing of thoſe that ſprang from the wars and virulent animoſity, which animated the two nations againſt each other, in the courſe of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries*.

* The remembrance of the injuries which the Engliſh had done France, ſtill ſubſiſted in that kingdom, in the reign of Francis the Firſt. The poet Cretin conſiders an Engliſhman in the light of an importunate dun; Marot, in that of a hard-hearted bum bailiff. Book ii. chap. 15. Rabelais repreſents the firſt tutor of Gargantua as drunk as an Engliſhman. The gluttony of the Engliſh was become proverbial: Fauſtus Andrelinus in Anglos derivavit adagium, *Menſa Syracuſana*. Eraſmus in his proverbs.

In a controverſy which was broached about the year 1222, among the ſtudents of the Univerſity of Paris, the French called their Engliſh fellow-ſtudents, *potatores & caudatos*, drunkards and laſcivious. James de Vitry, the beſt of our hiſtorians of the middle age, has given an account of this controverſy in the eighth chapter of his Hiſtory of the Weſt.

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The connexions ſince formed, between Henry the Eighth and Francis the Firſt, and between queen Elizabeth and Henry the Fourth, as it cauſed an intimacy between the ſovereigns, ſhould likewiſe have produced a reconciliation between the people, and have cured them of this antipathy: *Quod certaminibus ortum, ultra metum durat.* Vel. Paterc. "Which, having taken its riſe from battles and contentions, laſts after the danger is over."

Religion likewiſe contributed to reconcile them, by eſtabliſhing a brotherhood between the Engliſh and the Proteſtants, who then made very near one half of the inhabitants of France; this ſubſiſted chiefly with reſpect to the merchants, that is to ſay, the body of men who had then the moſt important and laſting connexions with England.

But religion afterwards contributed to ſeparate thoſe whom it had united. Henrietta of France, after ſome private differences with her huſband, king Charles the Firſt, had acquired an aſcendant over the mind and the reſolutions of that prince: ſhe contributed greatly to encourage him to reject the firſt propoſals made by his revolted ſubjects; and as ſoon as they had deprived the king of his liberty, ſhe found herſelf under a neceſſity of croſſing the ſeas again, and ſeeking her ſecurity in flight. The behaviour of cardinal Mazarine to Cromwell was, by no means, ſuch, as to give the Engliſh, when they returned to their duty, a favourable idea of the miniſtry of France. Charles the Second, when called to the throne, entered into connexions with Lewis the Fourteenth, which enabled the former to give a full ſcope to his taſte for magnificence and prodigality. England is indebted to this prince for almoſt all the eſtabliſhments, which are the moſt ſolid foundation of its preſent opulence, ſplendor, and ſtrength: it

has

has not, however, yet forgiven that monarch the ſale of Dunkirk, nor the French the acquiſition of that ſea-port.

The connexions, which James the Second had with France, before and after he was dethroned, though the event proved advantageous to England, converted to open animoſity what till then had been only covert hatred; and that animoſity greatly promoted all the deſigns of king William againſt France. Theſe deſigns were vigorouſly ſeconded by the French Proteſtants, whom the revocation of the edict of Nantz had ſent over to England, and who, in their deſpair, ſeemed to bite at the ſtone which had ſtruck them.

The ſettling of theſe people in that kingdom furniſhes us with one of the moſt particular reaſons of the hatred of the Engliſh to the French. The refugees, whether rich or poor, were all inceſſantly exclaiming againſt France, againſt the court, and the jeſuits, who had exerted themſelves to the utmoſt, to eſtabliſh at St. James's, the ſame authority, which they were poſſeſſed of at Verſailles. A conſiderable number of theſe refugees, being reduced to beggary, and to all the ſervility and meanneſs which that humble ſtate either authorizes or ſuggeſts, exhauſted and tired out the charity of the Engliſh, who ſoon uſed themſelves to conſider theſe beggars as repreſentatives of the whole French nation.

The wars which followed, were equally obſtinate and bloody, have, by reviving old animoſities, brought the two nations back to the ſtate in which they had been left by the battles of Agincourt and Poictiers.

London is ſtill a place of refuge for French bankrupts; for criminals, who, through fear of capital proſecution, get out of the reach of juſtice; in fine,

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for contumacious perſons, who fly from puniſhments, which they have juſtly incurred: can ſuch people as theſe give an advantageous idea of their country to the nation that affords them an aſylum?

A crowd of ſharpers and adventurers help to compleat what theſe fugitives began. Some of theſe ſtay in England as long as they can find dupes; others, after having a while exerciſed their talents there, conclude their courſe by remarkable frauds: many of them fall into the hands of juſtice, and ſuffer the puniſhment, juſtly due to their crimes; but a lucky flight ſaves great numbers of them out of the clutches of their creditors.

A young gentleman of Provence, whoſe name made a great noiſe in France, upon occaſion of the affair which cauſed the baniſhment of the jeſuits, had juſt decamped from London, when I arrived there. He had, during three months, made a figure ſuitable to the title of marquis, which he aſſumed: a ſingle night, at the bagnio, coſt him thirty guineas, merely to make a ſhew. He affirmed, that he had the honour of being charged by France with a ſecret commiſſion. At laſt, he quitted the kingdom, over head and ears in debt, and left behind him a forged bill of exchange of 50000 crowns, of which he had received 10000: at my arrival in London, this affair made a great noiſe upon Change, and the French were ſure to have their ears conſtantly regaled with it.

About the ſame time, two bucks of the firſt claſs, having left Paris in the company of a knight of St. Lewis, made their appearance in London*. After having, for about a fortnight, rattled away at a great rate in that city, they returned to Paris, without having ſeen any thing in London but a few bagnios

* At the head of this little troop was M. B. V. D. C. D. R. and

and the public walks, which it was then almoſt dangerous for Frenchmen to approach. The knight of St. Lewis, who had more curioſity and more ſenſe than his fellow-travellers, eſcaped from them, on the evening before his departure, and had a view of St. Paul's church by the light of flambeaus. "What an indiſcreet people are we! exclaimed Montaigne: not ſatisfied with making the world acquainted with our vices and follies by hear-ſay, we muſt go to foreign countries to ſhew them in perſon."

Conſidering the frequency of theſe adventures, the Engliſh, who are not acquainted with France, aſſume from thence, a right to judge our nation: a judgment as raſh, as that of the French would be, were they to form an idea of Italy and the Italians, from the quack doctors and itinerant prieſts that Italy pours out in ſuch multitudes.

To put an end to theſe prejudices againſt the nation, it were to be wiſhed, that a paſſage was to be refuſed to all Frenchmen, at every ſea-port of France, and that the frontiers of Flanders were ſhut to them; unleſs they could produce a letter from the ſecretary's office, giving an account both of the traveller, and of the motives of his voyage. This embargo is eſtabliſhed in the ſea-port towns; but it is an affair, which concerns the revenue alone; it has been converted into a duty, for the benefit of the governor or the admiralty: all, who pay this duty, paſs; and the greater the number of thoſe, who go out of the kingdom, the greater quantity of money does the duty produce.

To the other reaſons, which the Engliſh have for thinking ill of the French, may be added, the care which the dramatic authors of London take, to inſert in all their pieces, at leaſt, one ſcene, to run down

down the French, and turn them into ridicule, as coxcombs and ludicrous marquiſſes.

I have ſeen theſe marquiſſes taken off by a little deſpicable buffoon of a player, whoſe pronunciation of the French was as bad as his gait was awkward, and whoſe deportment was as ludicrous as that of any ſhoe-boy upon Pont-neuf. With this gait, and theſe airs, he ſaid, in deriſion of all the marquiſſes, real or counterfeit, who travel from France to England, "At Marſeilles I went by the name of John Farine: here I am called the Marquis de Poudreville."

Even Mr. * Foote's little theatre takes liberties with the French. The ſcene, which I there ſaw played in deriſion of the French, paſſed between a great and a little hat. The great one made a jeſt of the littleneſs of the other: the little one rallied the big one, and inſiſted very much upon its elegance, its taſte, and its gracefulneſs. They then had a diſpute concerning their reſpective greatneſs and littleneſs: they concluded by beating one another, and the big one ſwallowed up the little one.

Two days after I found myſelf, at Drury-lane, concerned in a quarrel, which might ſerve to explain that which I have been ſpeaking of. Chance placed me next to a citizen of London, who ſpoke tolerable good French, and was willing to interpret for me. He had a very little hat; and immediately after the firſt act, he made me take notice of it. Perceiving what he was aiming at, I, to put an end to his diſcourſe, ſhewed him my hat, which I had

* At this theatre the principal actor is Mr. Foote, who, in a ſort of compting-houſe, ſurrounded by wig-blocks, wigs, hats, womens head-dreſſes, and even making his own head and his periwig part of the Farce, takes off all nations, all conditions, and all ſtates of life, in dialogues, which make the Engliſh laugh heartily: it is a ſort of a periwig Encyclopædia in action.

bought the evening before in London, and which was cut after the Engliſh faſhion. Not thinking this addreſſed to him, he ſaid, it was merely a fancy that made him wear ſuch a hat; that he was not under any neceſſity of wearing it: and then came on the conqueſt of Canada. "It is that conqueſt, no doubt, ſaid I, which has lowered the price of porter amongſt you, and made bread ſo cheap." [Bread was then three pence a pound, and, on account of a tax occaſioned by the laſt war, and never ſuppreſſed ſince, beer was raiſed to three pence half-penny a pot.] "You are well verſed in politics, anſwered the Engliſhman; but we have got Canada and beaver." To this I replied, "Before you enter any farther into the diſcuſſion of this topic, tell me how you have been a gainer by this conqueſt; and I will tell you how I am loſer by it." He ſmiled, and returned again to the part he had undertaken, which was, to explain the ſubject of the tragedy then acting.

In ſuch of Shakeſpeare's plays as are known in France by tranſlations, we do not meet with that virulence againſt the French, which, for almoſt an age paſt, has diſcovered itſelf in all the dramatic works of the Engliſh. The French, to whom that author has aſſigned either capital or inferior parts, appear there in the colours in which hiſtory repreſents them. Shakeſpeare was a player notwithſtanding; he wrote to pleaſe the popular taſte, and it was for his intereſt to avail himſelf of every topic, that could humour their prejudices.

The ſtage is, in many more reſpects, the cauſe of diſputes and animoſity between the two nations. Is Corneille ſuperior to Shakeſpeare? or does Shakeſpeare bear the palm from Corneille? Does Racine or Otway deſerve the preference? Which nation has the greater number of original authors? and which

is

is moſt remarkable for plagiariſm? *Thrax eſt Gallinæ Syro par?* Theſe queſtions are conſtantly decided in favour of England, in all the treatiſes upon the ſtage, which have been publiſhed in Engliſh. Now I am upon the ſubject of plagiariſm, I muſt obſerve to the reader, that my Canada Engliſhman ſeriouſly maintained, that the Oracle, which was played as a farce, after the tragedy, which he was ſo good as to explain to me, was the production of the actreſs, who played the principal part in it; and that the French Oracle was only a tranſlation of the Engliſh piece. Charmant was performed in this piece by a little man in a great coat, cold as marble, and who had no other way of expreſſing the emotions of tenderneſs and perplexity, which are the ſoul of that part, but by often biting the ends of his fingers.

The prejudices of the fourteenth and fifteenth century, revived by the cauſes juſt enumerated, bias the judgments, which the moſt rational Engliſhmen paſs upon the French. They form an idea of them from thoſe viſionary petit-maitres, whom they ſee repreſented upon the ſtage; or from the real French coxcombs, who ſometimes ſhew themſelves in London. They ſee them only on the ridiculous ſide: and they aid every thing which can contribute to repreſent them in that diſadvantageous light.

It is with this charitable view, they ſupport and nouriſh the folly of one M. Deſcazeaux, who went over to London as a poet, and whom they call the French bard, as he ſtiles himſelf in the title-page of his works, which he is printing, and diſperſes about in pamphlets. He did me the honour to preſent me with four of theſe pamphlets; containing ſome extempore verſes, propoſals for printing by ſubſcription three tragedies of his compoſing, the Magnanimity of Alexander the Great, Turnus,

and the Danaids, with the Portrait of the Duke de Choiſeul, and the French Ambaſſador, &c. but the whole ſuch wretched ſtuff as to be even below contempt, and to excite rather our pity of ſuch a ſhatter-brained author *.

The great fondneſs of the Engliſh for the French bard, extended to the Hyena of Gevaudan, which was conſtantly exhibited in converſation, and in all the public papers, ſo that perſons of the beſt ſenſe looked upon it as nothing elſe but a farce, invented by the Weſtminſter ſcholars to amuſe the public: many went ſo far as to aſk me in the moſt ſerious manner, whether there could poſſibly be any truth in that whole affair? They triumphed equally upon the elegant toilets, compleat in all the furniture, which their ſoldiers have often found amongſt the baggage of the French officers †. "Theſe fellows, ſaid they with a tone of the utmoſt contempt, have not as much manhood as their grand-mothers." With all theſe fooliſh thoughts in their heads, the Engliſh are often unable to retain their accuſtomed flegm and gravity, upon ſeeing a Frenchman: when once he has eſcaped from them, they laugh as heartily, as they before exerted themſelves earneſtly to detain him. I cannot help adding, that I never ſaw any Engliſhman laugh heartily except on ſuch occaſions ‡. I diverted myſelf with remarking the humours of the Engliſh, and the force of prejudice even in men of good ſenſe.

* M. de Groſley has given a few ſpecimens of M. Deſcazeaux's ſtile: but we have thought proper to omit them; as they would not bear tranſlating, ſo intolerably are they loaded with nonſenſe and abſurdity. T.

† *Interque ſigna (turpe!) militaria*
Sol aſpicit conoſeum. Hor. Epod. ix.

‡ And in two others mentioned afterwards, under the article Melancholy.

They

They even ſeem to be afraid of ſeeing thoſe wounds cloſed, which the wars between them and the French, ſince the dethroning of James the Second, have left in the minds of the two nations: ſo deſirous are they of perpetuating the memory of them, by monuments deſtined to reſiſt the injuries of time. The ancients, notwithſtanding all their pride and haughtineſs, thought and acted very differently in this reſpect: ſuch was their regard for humanity, that the trophies of their victories were only tranſient monuments: it was not till the civil wars, that they uſed marble and braſs in them.

England abounds with monuments of the latter ſort. Such is the grand piece of painting, with which king William cauſed the hall of Windſor-caſtle to be adorned: this piece, which is ten or twelve toiſes * or fathoms in length, contains a repreſentation of the triumph of the celebrated Black Prince, preſenting to his father king John of France and king David of Scotland, his priſoners. The painter has united, within the extent of this picture, thoſe additional circumſtances which moſt contribute to humble and mortify the pride of the conquered, and with which Raphael, Julio Romano, and Le Brun, have heightened the triumphs of Scipio, Conſtantine, and Alexander. Such is the caſtle of Blenheim, built for the duke of Marlborough, at the expence of the nation, in commemoration of the victory of Hockſtet. Such is the inſcription to be ſeen on the guineas, of which a conſiderable number were coined in the firſt year of the reign of queen Anne, at the bottom of whoſe image is the word *Vigo*, to intimate that theſe pieces were coined out of the gold of the galleons taken at the port of Vigo.

* A meaſure of ſix feet; the king's toiſe, however, is a meaſure of ſeven feet four inches.

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The Engliſh ſometimes cauſe medals to be ſtruck before the ſucceſs of the expeditions which gave occaſion to them. I have had in my poſſeſſion a medal, ſtruck in 1741, to inform poſterity of the taking of Carthagena, which the Engliſh propoſed to effect with a fleet, commanded by admiral Vernon, whoſe image, with a long inſcription, was to be ſeen upon the medal. The admiral appeared before Carthagena, but the enterprize miſcarried; and the medal, which is to be ſeen to this day, confirms the proverbial ſaying, that "we ſhould never ſell the bear's ſkin, till we have killed it."

Weſtminſter-abbey receives every day new monuments of the ſucceſſes of England in the laſt war. We there meet with buſts of good Carrara marble of the commanders, who moſt eminently diſtinguiſhed themſelves in it.

The conqueror of the Indies is to be ſeen there in all the pride of Aſiatic pomp and magnificence. His ſtatue, which ſtands erect, has, on each ſide of it, a lofty palm-tree, loaded with the trophies and ſpoils of the vanquiſhed.

General Wolfe, who was killed at the expedition of Canada, where he was commander in chief, will have a monument ſtill more ſtriking and characteriſtical. I ſaw a complete model of it, in the ſculptor's work-ſhop, ſuch as it is to be executed in marble. A grenadier is repreſented ſupporting him unarmed, expiring, and reclined upon an antique couch, and, at the ſame time, ſhewing him at a diſtance, Victory, which flies towards him, with a crown of laurel: oppoſite to this figure, a groupe of military men and Canadians expreſs, by a variety of different attitudes, the moſt profound ſorrow: the drooping hero has, as a carpet under his feet, a great pair of colours, thrown there at random, part of which falls

upon

upon the the monument: upon theſe colours are repreſented three flower-de-luces, in the ſtrongeſt embroidery.

The gardens of Vauxhall, which I ſhall ſpeak of bye and bye, preſent to the view, in a great ſaloon, lately built, and which ſerves as a porch to the rotunda, four large pictures, which are by no means to the honour of the French. The national antipathy of the Engliſh to the latter ſeems to have raiſed the imagination and the hand of Mr. Hayman, the painter, above what the pencil of an Engliſhman is capable of producing. Theſe pictures repreſent the laſt conqueſts of the Engliſh in the four quarters of the world. In that of Canada is repreſented a general, diſtributing food to the inhabitants of Quebec reduced to the utmoſt ſtraights by famine, during a ſiege, which was made very ſhort, by the want of proviſions and ammunition of all ſorts. A tender and noble compaſſion are viſible in the countenance and the whole attitude of that general.

I was ſatisfied with a ſingle view of theſe monuments: I was as ſhort a time about it as poſſible; but I often ſaw Frenchmen detained there by charitable Engliſhmen, who gave them a circumſtantial explanation of the whole piece. I heard one of theſe aſking a journeyman ſculptor, the meaning of the three flower-de-luces, repreſented upon the colours, which lay under the feet of general Wolfe: the anſwer was as diſagreeable as laconic, that is, it was juſt ſuch as ſhould be expected.

Lewis the Fourteenth is the firſt modern ſovereign, who inſulted foreign nations by ſtanding monuments of this kind: but they have ſince paid him in his own coin. Upon a view of theſe trophies and monuments, we may ſay, with the Greeks, who when they had ſubdued the Trojans, lamented their victory:

Faſtûs pœnaſque expendimus omnes. Æn. xi.
We are all puniſhed for our pride.

The animoſity, which is nouriſhed and perpetuated by theſe monuments, ſeizes all occaſions to ſhew and make itſelf felt: it would even proceed to contempt in thoſe, who, being perfect novices in the affairs of this world, do not know how inconſtant fortune is in beſtowing her favours *.

This animoſity did not fail to take advantage of the affair of the chevalier d'Eon, which is unhappily but too well known. It procured him zealous partiſans amongſt perſons of all ranks and conditions, who, under the ſhew of zeal for the defence of oppreſſed virtue, harbour a ſecret deſign to turn the French into ridicule. This deſign ſeems to have deferred ſhewing itſelf openly, till ſentence had paſſed againſt the chevalier at the court of king's bench.

After this judgment had been pronounced, the ambaſſador of France ſent to a public exhibition of productions of the Engliſh pencil, a ſmall oval picture of himſelf, by Monſ. Michael Vanloo, who had not exerted his ſkill in that performance. The directors of the exhibition intended this picture a diſtinguiſhed place in the moſt honourable part of the ſaloon; but they took care to contraſt it with a portrait as big as the life of the chevalier d'Eon, drawn in a grand uniform, with a great laced hat down to his eyes, one hand clapped to the hilt of

* *Fortuna ſævo læta negotio*
Et ludum inſolentem ludere pertinax,
Tranſmutat incertos honores,
Nunc mihi, nunc aliis benigna. Hor. l. iii. od. 29.
But Fortune, ever-changing dame,
Indulges her malicious joy,
And conſtant plays her haughty game,
Proud of her office to deſtroy;
To-day to me her bounty flows,
And now to others ſhe the bliſs beſtows.

his ſword, with the air of a Drawcanſir, and the other opening a quarto volume, in a blue cover, which contained his memoirs. As often as I went to ſee this exhibition, I never paſſed before the two pieces, but all the Engliſh preſent, men and women, were ſo kind as to let me know, that the large figure repreſented the chevalier d'Eon, and the little one was the portrait of the French ambaſſador.

It ſhould, notwithſtanding, be remarked by the way, that many particulars, connected with the Engliſh manners and cuſtoms, and which neceſſarily reſult from thence, might be miſtaken for effects of this animoſity, though they are quite foreign to it, however obſervers may be impoſed upon by firſt appearances.

Of this nature was the abrupt manner, in which people roſe, and quitted me, to ſeek for a perſon that ſpoke French: this was the heighth of politeneſs; but before I became uſed to it, I conſidered it only as an inſtance of ſurlineſs and ill-humour, ariſing from the antipathy between the two nations.

The French are likewiſe apt to imagine, that it is on account of their country, they are puſhed and ſhoved in the moſt frequented ſtreets, and often driven into the kennel; but they are miſtaken, The Engliſh walk very faſt: their thoughts being entirely engroſſed by buſineſs, they are very punctual to their appointments, and thoſe, who happen to be in their way, are ſure to be ſufferers by it: conſtantly darting forward, they juſtle them with a force proportioned to their bulk and the velocity of their motion. I have ſeen foreigners, not uſed to this exerciſe, let themſelves be toſſed and whirled about a long time, in the midſt of a crowd of paſſengers, who had nothing elſe in view, but to get forward.

Having

Having ſoon adopted the Engliſh cuſtom, I made the beſt of my way through crowded ſtreets, exerting my utmoſt efforts to ſhun perſons, who were equally careful to avoid me *.

We ſhould be equally in an error, if we were to imagine, that the Engliſh faſhions, diametrically oppoſite to thoſe of France, are contrived in the manner they are, in order to avoid all reſemblance to thoſe of our nation: on the contrary, if the former are any way influenced by the latter, it is by the deſire of imitating them. A mode begins to be out of date at Paris, juſt when it has been introduced at London by ſome Engliſh nobleman. The court and the firſt-rate nobility immediately take it up: it is next introduced about St. James's, by thoſe that ape the manners of the court; and, by the time it has reached the city, a contrary mode already prevails at Paris, where the Engliſh, bringing with them the obſolete mode, appear like the people of another world. The little hats, for example, at preſent ſo faſhionable in France, begin to be wore by the nobility, who borrowed the model from Paris: by degrees the Engliſh will come at the diminutive ſize;

* We meet with a lively deſcription of this buſtle and motion in the ſtreets, in the ſcene, where Plautus deſcribes, after Philemon, the buſtle of the port of Athens, and of the entrance that leads to it:

Pleniſſimè eos qui adverſum eunt aſpellito,
Detrude, deturba in viam: hæc hic diſciplina peſſima eſt;
Currenti, properanti haud quicquàm dignum habet decedere:
Ita tres ſimul res age..dæ ſunt, quando unam occeperis,
Et currendum eſt, & pugnandum, & jurgandum eſt in viâ.
Mercator. act. v. c. 2.

"Drive thoſe forward, who are coming towards you, puſh them on, force them into the middle of the ſtreet; when you are running on, and when you are in the greateſt hurry imaginable, ſcarce any body will vouchſafe to make way for you: ſo you have three things at once upon your hands, when you have undertaken but one; you muſt run, fight, and ſcold by the way."

but

but the great hats will then be reſumed at Paris. This holds good in general, with regard both to men and womens apparel *.

I took care to enquire at the Royal-Exchange into the particulars of the treatment, which the duke de Nivernois met with there in his embaſſy. The Gazette of France made mention of it at the time, and it had very much the appearance of an inſult.

Curioſity had led that nobleman to the Royal-Exchange. After he had walked all over it, juſt as he approached the great gate, leading to the ſtreet, it was ſhut upon him. At this, he diſcovered ſome ſurprize; and the report having ſpread, that the duke was there, he was ſurrounded, preſſed, and ſqueezed by the crowd, till he reached the oppoſite gate, which he found half ſhut.

Upon this occaſion, I was informed, nay I found by my own experience, that the Royal-Exchange is opened before one o'clock; that at two, one of the folding-doors, which opens into the ſtreet, is ſhut; that at half an hour after two, the other folding-door is alſo ſhut, together with one belonging to the oppoſite gate: the folding-door that remains open, is half ſhut at three quarters of an hour after two, and at three all the gates are locked, ſo that thoſe, who ſtay behind till the hour is paſt, are ſure to be locked in till between four and five.

Now it happened, that the duke de Nivernois preſented himſelf at the door, that leads to the great ſtreet, juſt as it was ſhutting. With regard to the ſurrounding crowd, I was informed by ſeveral bankers, who were then upon Change, that the crowd was occaſioned by the general eagerneſs

* *Extrapelus tonſor dum circuit ora Luperci*
Expungitque genas, altera barba ſubit. Mart.
Whilſt Extrapelus, the barber, ſhaves the beard of Lupercus, and takes the hair from his chin, a new beard grows in the place of the firſt.

of the multitude to ſee a man, who, by his magnificence and affability, had conciliated the affection of the Engliſh of all ranks; of a man, in competition with whom, the chevalier d'Eon would have found no patronage, had he reduced himſelf to that dilemma; in a word, of a man, whom England views with the ſame eye as France, and who, having united the two nations in their opinion concerning him, might carry that union as far as he thought proper:

Cui, licet impares
Formas atque animos mittere ſub jugo.

MANNER OF LIVING IN LONDON.

THE punctuality, with which they ſhut the gates of the Royal-Exchange, is connected with the general intereſt of commerce: it leaves only a limited time to thoſe ſpeculations and parlies, which, without that precaution, would degenerate into idle chat, and never have an end. Thoſe, which are only juſt begun, they terminate in the coffee-houſes about the Change. The banker, the Engliſh trader, and the foreign merchants, divided according to their ſeveral nations, have each a coffee-houſe near the Royal-Exchange, as the advocates and attornies belonging to the parliament of Paris have their bench at the *Palais*.

The manner in which the Engliſh bankers and merchants live, notwithſtanding the care attending a commerce of ſuch immenſe extent, is the ſame with that of the lawyers, phyſicians, and all the citizens in general. They riſe a little of the lateſt; and paſs an hour at home, drinking tea with their families; about ten they go to the coffee-houſe, where they ſpend another hour: then they go home,

or meet people about buſineſs: at two o'clock they go to Change: in their return, they lounge a little longer at the coffee-houſe, and then dine about four. Thirty years ago, two was the hour of dining, and before that one: the hour of going to Change interfered with dinner-time, ſo that the merchants thought it moſt adviſeable, not to dine till their return from Change. Since this arrangement, dinner concludes the day, and they give the remainder of it to their friends. Acquaintances meet at clubs, formed by connexions of good fellowſhip or neighbourhood. In ſummer, the remainder of the day is paſſed either at ſome of the public walks, or in a country excurſion, if they happen to have a villa near London. About ten at night they go home to bed, after taking a ſlight repaſt. In all ſeaſons, the London merchants generally retire to the country on Saturdays, and do not return till Monday at Change-time.

Inferior dealers, and even mechanics themſelves, imitate this manner of living, as far as in them lies: in the month of May, the ſhops and warehouſes are not opened till about eight o'clock. Mechanics, of the loweſt ſort, even journeymen themſelves, carry Engliſh independence ſtill farther: nothing, but want of money, can compel them to work. If they are obliged to do buſineſs, they, as it were, fight with their task: they go to it like madmen, and like people enraged at being conſtrained to labour. They chuſe rather to toil in this manner, with all their might, and to reſt themſelves from time to time, than to paſs the whole day gently and eaſily in their employ. The buſineſs is carried on the better for this ardour of the artificer: this appears evidently, from the perfection of all Engliſh manufactures, whether of

of ſteel or needlework. The taylor, in his ſhop, the ſhoe-maker, &c. either is at work, or reſts himſelf: he is ſeldom ſeen to trifle away his time in ſinging or whiſtling.

The perfection of handicraft-work, and the love of liberty in the loweſt claſs of artificers, contribute equally to render Engliſh manufactures very dear. In vain has the ſtate attempted to diminiſh this exceſſive dearneſs, by laying ſuch heavy taxes as render it impoſſible for them to have money beforehand: they enter into aſſociations, they refuſe to work, they revolt; and obtain an increaſe of their wages, when the latter become inſufficient to enable them to live as uſual; and this is always a great burthen upon trade.

COMMERCE AND MERCHANTS.

BANKERS and merchants, who have moſt buſineſs upon their hands, do not confine themſelves conſtantly to their compting-houſes, except the two foreign poſt-days. The idle time, which this procures them, amazed me at firſt; but my ſurprize ceaſed, when I was given to underſtand, that they, by no means, keep the ſame number of books as the French and Italian merchants. As they enter upon buſineſs with that ſpirit of order and regularity, which characterizes their nation, ſimple minutes ſufficiently enable them to tranſact the moſt important concerns.

The offices of the ſecretaries of ſtate, and of the ſeveral departments dependent or connected with them, are not ſo numerous in England, nor filled with ſuch a number of clerks, as in many other countries. If buſineſs had been tranſacted in the Roman empire, compoſed of large provinces, which are now become kingdoms, with the ſame tedious formalities as it is at preſent conducted in the different ſtates of Eu-

Europe, it ſeems problematical, whether Rome and its ſuburbs would have been able to contain ſuch a number of offices.

The debt-book, which an Engliſh merchant carries always in his pocket, often contains a greater number of objects than our largeſt volumes. Add to this, that commercial affairs do not ſo much depend upon the pen as the head: the greateſt gains are next to the greateſt riſks: a great riſk is run in every thing; and the merchant, who is concerned to the value of a hundred thouſand pounds, may, by a variety of chances, which he bravely encounters, ſee his fortune, in the ſpace of a ſingle day, either doubled or utterly ruined.

Theſe debt-books are the chief baſis of the opulence and grandeur of the nation: it is theſe that cover the ſeas of the four different parts of the globe with ſhips; it is theſe that occaſion wars, and enable the nation to bear them; it is theſe, that triumph at proſperous events, and that, in times of public calamity, repair misfortunes, and keep the conquerors in awe *.

The Engliſh merchant, conſidered in this point of light, is juſt what a famous French farmer of the revenues [Samuel Bernard] cauſed himſelf to be repreſented in a print, the engraving of which is an ornament worthy of the choiceſt cabinets. In this print, the farmer-general is repreſented with one

* *Merſes profundo, pulchrior evenit;*
Luctere, multâ proruit integrum
Cum laude, victorem, geretque
Prælia conjugibus loquenda. Horat.
In ocean plunge them, up they buoy more bright;
At arms oppoſe them, they ſhall rout your train;
In force united, and approv'd in fight,
With total ruin on the buſy plain,
And battles wage, to be the future boaſt
Of their proud conſorts o'er our vanquiſh'd hoſt.

hand

hand upon a tetraqueous globe, and giving with the other his orders to veſſels, which ſet ſail for different ports.

The Engliſh merchants, however, have books fit to be laid before the magiſtrate, who ſits at Guildhall to take cognizance of conteſts between traders; but theſe books are kept in a ſummary way, without any uſeleſs repetition or ſuperfluous detail. Every banker, every merchant, has, generally ſpeaking, a partner, whoſe only buſineſs is to keep his books, and take care of his accompts: the principal perſon in the partnerſhip ſuperintends the buſineſs. Theſe departments are regulated not ſo much by the greatneſs of the capital, as by ability and intelligence. They have likewiſe their apprentices; but notwithſtanding this apprentice-fee is ſo high, and notwithſtanding the ſervices, which may juſtly be expected from theſe youths, during the ſeven years of their initiation, bankers and merchants of the firſt claſs continue to take them only, when they cannot well avoid it.

The apprentice being generally ſome rich man's ſon, who gives to the amount of a thouſand pounds with him, either applies diligently to buſineſs, or he neglects it. In the former caſe, he will acquire a compleat knowledge of the ſtate of my affairs, and, when he has ſerved out his apprenticeſhip, he will avail himſelf of that knowledge, to his own emolument, and my prejudice. In the latter, I ſhall have a uſeleſs perſon in my houſe, who will only diſturb thoſe that mind my affairs: but the merchants prefer this ſecond caſe to the firſt; and, for this reaſon, do not require the apprentice to do any buſineſs; ſo that, to the great ſatisfaction of his maſter, he ſpends his whole time in taking his pleaſure.

In other ſtations and conditions of life, in virtue of a law of Henry the Eighth, abrogated by queen Mary, and revived by queen Elizabeth, apprenticeſhips require the ſame time. They often commence at the age of fourteen, and end at the twenty-firſt year, which in England is the time that concludes minority, in perſons of all ranks and ſtations in life. They are proportionably expenſive; and in London the apprentices compoſe a numerous body, which has frequently had ſome influence in the ſtate. They conſtitute the ſecond order in a city, where the firſt is formed by the merchants and artiſans, divided into companies, and endowed with privileges, which they take care to ſecure and extend at every revolution.

Theſe companies have all of them annual officers, choſen out of the body, whoſe police they preſerve and maintain. They have twelve principal bodies of citizens, which are the ſame thing at London as the ſix bodies at Paris. Theſe are the mercers, grocers, drapers, fiſh-mongers, goldſmiths, ſkinners, merchant-taylors, haberdaſhers, ſalters, iron-mongers, vintners, and cloth-workers; theſe trades compoſe the twelve companies, out of which the lord-mayor, that it is to ſay, the chief magiſtrate of the city of London, is annually choſen.

He has a palace, attendants, and equipages, the magnificence of which ſeems to ſuit a ſovereign. He keeps open houſe, and, upon certain occaſions, gives entertainments, at which the king is ſometimes preſent. His juriſdiction is of great extent, and, in many caſes, there lies no appeal from it. Finally, he has ſuch an influence on the city of London, as more than once has alarmed the crown, and been productive of the moſt important revolutions. In a word, the lord-mayor of London has more of the

appearance, and, even of the real power, of a prince, than the ſovereigns of many petty ſtates. It, however, ſometimes happens, that the perſon choſen to fill that important office, declines it: in which caſe, he is obliged to pay down a fine of one hundred marks.

The court has only a very remote influence on the election of this magiſtrate, which is often made in a manner diametrically oppoſite to its views. The kings of England themſelves ſometimes contrive to be enrolled in one of the twelve companies abovementioned. King William, when he was prince of Orange, was made member of that of the drapers. When the city of London, in imitation of the example ſet by certain Greek republics, is for honouring with its freedom any foreigner of diſtinction, he is obliged to get himſelf enrolled in one of the twelve companies. The duke of Brunſwic, who, in the laſt war, ſerved England ſo well in Germany, has lately been honoured with this diſtinction, which his ſervices ſo richly deſerve. After a grand entertainment from the city of London, on receiving his freedom, in a golden box, he choſe to be made a member of the grocers company, to which the lord-mayor at that time belonged. The leaders of the oppoſition in parliament, though often men of the nobleſt families, are ambitious of being free of the city, as that freedom is a pledge of mutual attachment between them and the people. The renowned patriot, lord Chatham, has likewiſe been enrolled in the grocers company.

London was formerly inhabited by merchants and trades-people only; the nobility came up to town, as to a kind of fair well provided with inns, where they were to ſtay but a ſhort time; before

they began to build thoſe fine houſes, the number of which increaſes daily. The change, which this occaſions in the natural ſtate of London, will neceſſarily be followed by eſſential alterations in its political ſtate.

The latitude, with which the Engliſh merchant and banker tranſact their own buſineſs, does not prevent their obſerving the moſt ſcrupulous exactneſs in their dealings with others. A banker, to whom a bill was brought to be accepted, having taken a pen, and ſigned the initial letters of his name, happened to caſt an eye upon his books; finding, that he owed nothing to the perſon who drew upon him, he ſcratched out thoſe initial letters, and refuſed to accept the bill. The affair was debated, and determined by merchants upon change in my preſence: the deciſion was, that he, who ſigned the initial letters of his name upon the bill, had accepted it, and was obliged to pay the money. They even went ſo far, as to affirm, that he would have been equally obliged, if he had only made a verbal promiſe to accept it, or, if he had taken the pen, in preſence of witneſſes, to ſign the acceptance, though he might have changed his mind afterwards. "Forms, ſaid the merchants who decided the point, are punctually to be obſerved: we muſt either ſtrictly conform to them, or place implicit confidence in each other's honeſty."

I ſhall not enter into a long detail, concerning the preſent ſtate of commerce, and of the Engliſh manufactures. All that can be advanced upon that ſubject has been already exhauſted in books, which are well known to the public. Theſe manufactures, which are now in ſo flouriſhing a condition, owe their origin to the perſecuting ſpirit, which baniſhed them out of France, and before that, out of Flanders: "The duke of Alva's ſucceſſes having

removed all oppoſition to his will, he endeavoured to render the inquiſition more rigorous than ever, and gave it himſelf the appellation of the *Bloody Council*; inſomuch, that he baniſhed from Flanders the beſt artificers and manufacturers, who, retiring to England, ſettled themſelves in the cities of Norwich, Glouceſter, &c. upon which the towns of Flanders were drained of inhabitants *." The revocation of the edict of Nantes has ſince proved equally advantageous to England.

ANNUITIES ON LIVES.

FROM the loweſt citizen to the firſt nobleman in England, all ranks and conditions furniſh matter for ſpeculation. The duke of Bedford publicly deals in annuities for life, which have had ſuch ill ſucceſs in France in the hands of certain noblemen and governors of hoſpitals, at leaſt, with regard to lenders †. The only riſk in theſe loans in France turns upon the death of the lender. But in England they riſk at every thing: money is, with equal readineſs advanced upon the life of the lender, the borrower, or of any other perſon. A man, who has a place or employment, is deſirous of inſuring bread to his wife and children, and with this view, lends

* D'Aubigné, Hiſt. Univ. in the year 1570, l. v. chap. 33. M. de Thou, l. xlix. p. 618.

† In the tenth century, the Gallic church invented this commerce, with regard to its funds, by the title of *Precarious Contract*. By reſigning their lands, &c. to the church, &c. the owners retained the uſufruct for life, and received double the value in the church's money. Thoſe, who gave up the uſufruct of the eſtate, received ſtill greater advantages, the threefold value of it. This commerce was afterwards introduced in Italy, and greatly contributed to make all eſtates in land fall into the hands of eccleſiaſtics. The troubles of thoſe times rendered all property ſo precarious, that the leaſt covetous poſſeſſors of eſtates were thereby determined to enter into theſe fatal contracts.

money

money upon their lives and his own; during his own life, he will receive but one per cent. but, at his death, his wife and children will touch twelve, fifteen, and twenty per cent.: this may either happen the very day after the loan, or never, if the lender ſhould live to bury his wife and children. The danger is anticipated by lending upon the head of the father of the lender, or the father of the borrower. Loans of this ſort are ſometimes limited to five or ſeven years, on condition of paying an intereſt, proportioned to the ſhortneſs of the time, and the danger of loſing both principal and intereſt, if the perſon upon whoſe head the money has been lent, does not live the five or ſeven years. It is chiefly with noblemen, who launch into extravagance, that ſuch contracts are entered into; a reſource, which the nobility of other countries, who are for haſtening ſtill faſter to their deſtruction, are deprived of; but whether for the public benefit or not, I will not pretend to determine. A local reaſon gave riſe to thoſe contracts in England: the eſtates of almoſt all the great families are entailed; and, in virtue of this regulation, the children of the deceaſed, or the next heir, immediately take poſſeſſion of theſe eſtates, without being liable to pay any debts of the deceaſed. If a nobleman is obliged to mortgage his eſtate for the payment of his creditors, they receive no benefit from it, but during his life-time.

Beſides theſe risks, it is always to be feared, leſt the above contracts ſhould be laid before the courts of judicature, which, being attached to their old principles and methods of proceeding, frequently reject or condemn them as palliatives to extortion and uſury.

The Engliſh have the regiſter of all ſpeculations on theſe ſubjects, in the celebrated treatiſe of Mr.

de Moivre *, upon annuities for life; here are tables, which ſhew, at one view, the value of lives, whatever may be the intereſt of money." This treatiſe was firſt publiſhed in the year 1729. The author has ſince given a more full and complete edition of it, in 1743. It is now become a ſort of code of loans, and life annuities, which has rendered them exceeding common.

The bank of England is a kind of a thermometer in all commercial affairs; its riſing or ſinking accelerates or retards them. This is the ſtrong box of the whole nation; a ſtrong box, to which the king has no key. The funds belong to numbers of individuals. Some politicians would be glad, that it was under the care of the parliament; which, ſay they, would greatly increaſe its credit, and render buſineſs much eaſier to tranſact. Whether it was for this reaſon of public intereſt, or on account of views of private emolument, they were in hopes of ſome advantage accruing to the ſtate from the renewal of the charter, which authorized the eſtabliſhment of this bank, in 1694. The famous Mr. Law took from hence the model, which he began to work upon in France: but an attempt to make ſuch an eſtabliſhment in this kingdom is like planting a vineyard in England.

Bank-bills are engraved upon paper as thin as a ſpider's web, inſomuch, that it appears almoſt impoſſible to expunge or alter a word in them: care likewiſe is taken to print the ſum written at full length. Notwithſtanding this circumſpection, frauds are committed; but this affects the perſon only, into whoſe hands the bill is fallen: the bank pays no

* A French refugee, born at Vitri in Champagne.

more

more than the ſum entered under ſuch a number in its books, upon preſenting the bill.

If the Dutch chuſe rather to place their money in this bank, at three per cent. than at five per cent. in France, upon the royal loans, it is not ſo much on account of the ſecurity of the funds, as of the invariable certainty of payment. Beſides, as they have much leſs commerce with France than with England, they are far better acquainted with the paper-credit of the latter kingdom.

Proper meaſures ſeem to have been taken by the Engliſh, to prevent every connexion and correſpondence in buſineſs between them and the French. Such merchandize, as is the product of France, or its manufactures, is entirely prohibited, or loaded with duties, the enormity of which is equivalent to an expreſs prohibition. Certain drugs and medicines, prints and books, bought at Paris, by the ſurgeon, with whom I came from Dover to London, paid at the cuſtom-houſe three-fourths of the money they coſt; and, with regard to the ſum, the ſurgeon's word was taken. But commerce is like water, which is making continual efforts to come to its proper level; and, if it be prevented from gaining this level openly, it finds it underground. France ever did, and ever will find, a ſure remedy againſt Engliſh prohibitions, by its contraband trade; a remedy the more effectual, as the Engliſh have the ſame prejudices in favour of French manufactures, which the French have with regard to thoſe of England: with this difference, that whilſt England draws articles of importance from France, ſuch as wines, ſilks, &c. ſhe ſupplies the French in return with nothing but trifles of little or no value*.

* We ſhould not confound with theſe trifles, the tobacco, which the farmers-general get from England: this branch of trade

I have heard it affirmed, even by merchants themſelves, that good hats or good ſtuffs, whether ſilk or woollen, are made only in France; that Engliſh hats ſuck in the water like ſponges; that the Engliſh ſilks are mere paper; that their woollen ſtuffs are as ſtiff as paſteboard; and that their lace is like papier-maché. The ladies have ſtill a more diſadvantageous idea of them: an Engliſh lady, that has the good fortune to procure a French ſilk gown, is ſure to eclipſe all the belles in company, eſpecially if that gown has been made at Paris.

If to theſe caprices, we add the cheapneſs of work in France in compariſon to the dearneſs in England; together with the proportionable profit reſulting from thence to the Engliſh merchants; we ſhall be convinced, that, if public intereſt produces a neceſſity for the moſt rigorous prohibitions of French commodities, private lucre can find a thouſand ways to evade and bid defiance to theſe prohibitions. Contraband trade furniſhes the means: it is carried on by ſtratagems and cunning, and ſometimes with an intrepidity proportioned to the greatneſs of the profit attending it. Carriages to tranſport merchandize of this ſort, and magazines for depoſiting it, are eaſily found. The little Iſle of Man, which lies almoſt at an equal diſtance from England, Scotland, and Ireland, was, with regard to this contraband trade, the ſame as Dombe in France had been during many years. This iſland, in which horſes and all ſorts of animals are very diminutive, in compariſon to thoſe of the three kingdoms abovementioned, belonged in full ſove-

procures millions to England, ſince to prevent an inconſiderable contraband trade, the farmers have ſtopped the paſſes of Alſace, and deſtroyed the plantations of Clerac, Tonneins, &c. The Engliſh approved of this meaſure the more, as war itſelf does not interrupt thoſe ſupplies, now become indiſpenſably neceſſary.

reignty

reignty to the houſe of Athol, which conſtantly rejected the moſt advantageous offers for it by the crown *. The bargain was, at length, concluded, juſt when I arrived at London: the parliament of England, by paying down 70,000 l. ſterling, has deprived the contraband traders of their ſecureſt magazine, and their moſt commodious and uſeful factory. But avarice, which goes in queſt of merchandize to the Indies, will always find means to procure it from a country within a day's ſail.

It is to the difference of the price of labour, that the commerce of France owes its principal advantage over that of England: an advantage chiefly derived from the different value of money. It is not ſo much the numerary quantity which determines this value, as the eſtimation of the current intereſt: the dearneſs of ſpecie has, in this light, the ſame effect as its ſcarcity. Hence, if money were as abundant in France as it is in England, far from diminiſhing and reducing the rate of intereſt, the advantage of the manufacturer would require that this intereſt ſhould be kept upon the preſent footing. I leave it to others to explain this paradox, which I give the reader as I had it from Engliſh bankers.

I will even ſuppoſe England to be richer than France in current coin, becauſe all the ſpecie coined at the Tower of London, ſince Charles the Second incluſively, circulates in trade; whereas the bulk of the preſent numerary money in France is partly formed of the ſpecie coined in the reign of Lewis

* One of the judges, that tried Charles the Firſt, and had juſt been pardoned by Charles the Second, happening to be in the Iſle of Man, was there ſeized, by order of the dutcheſs of Athol, who, at that time, poſſeſſed the ſovereignty of the iſland. He was brought to a trial, and condemned to ſuffer the puniſhment inflicted upon ſuch as are guilty of high-treaſon, though king Charles the Second interceded in his behalf.

the Fourteenth; a ſpecie, which has ſupplied materials to the new coinage in the latter part of that prince's reign, and that which was made in the time of the regency.

Be that as it will; when I ſaw in London the guineas of Charles the Second, and king William, upon the ſame footing in commerce with thoſe coined at preſent, I could never conceive the nature of that operation upon the coinage, which was ſaid to be ſuperintended by Sir Iſaac Newton, whom queen Anne had appointed maſter of the mint. The caſe is, doubtleſs, the ſame with this operation as with many others, whoſe importance has been equally vaunted: it reminds us of the floating ſticks in the fable*.

The flouriſhing ſtate of trade in London appears from the wealth of the merchants, from the rapidity and immenſity of the fortunes made by it, which may be compared to thoſe acquired by the management of the finances in other countries. We may form a judgment of theſe fortunes from that of Sir Thomas Greſham, who built and endowed hoſpitals, and erected the Royal-Exchange, at his own expence. The ſtatue of that knight is to be ſeen in one of the four porticos within this great edifice. In that which runs parallel to it, there is a ſtatue of Sir John Barnard, who lived in our times, was reckoned a very great patriot, and acquired a conſiderable fortune by commerce.

Theſe fortunes, either immediately by titles of nobility, with which the kings of England, ſince Charles the Second, are diſpoſed to honour them, or indirectly by marriages, produce the ſame effect in England, which wealth amaſſed in the finances does in other countries. They re-eſtabliſh antient families, and

* See La Fontaine.

form

form a great number of new ones. Scarce are theſe new families formed, but they think themſelves upon a level with thoſe of the moſt antient nobility, who, far from being aſhamed of commerce, frequently bind their younger children apprentices to merchants.

Further, in conſequence of the œconomy required by a moſt extenſive commerce, and the attention and care inſeparable from mercantile concerns, the great merchants are trained up in principles as favourable to the raiſing of a new family, and to the public manners of a commercial ſtate, as the ſpirit of financiers is dangerous both to the public and to individuals.

In their dealings, moſt citizens are at a word; and when they have named their price, you muſt either take the goods or leave them. They have borrowed this cuſtom from the Quakers, and find it exceedingly convenient in diſpatching buſineſs: for a child may in this caſe make any purchaſe, as well as a man thoroughly acquainted with the prices of the goods.

A reputation for honeſty ſo facilitates the means of making a fortune, that merchants of all countries are led to declare themſelves to be of thoſe ſects, which profeſs ſtrict integrity, and a rigid purity of manners*. The lower ſort of people, who are always impoſed upon by external appearances, make a ſcruple of bargaining with a man of God, whoſe probity, integrity, and holineſs are atteſted by all the principal perſons of a party, of which he is the chief ſup-

* *Cupiditatum quiſque ſuarum religionem habet velut pediſſequam.* S. Leo ad Theod. "Every man makes religion a ſort of a handmaid to his inordinate deſires." This was, without doubt, explained in the Pater-noſter mentioned by Rabelais, in the catalogue of books belonging to St. Victor's library.

port,

port. The ſons of this man of God * ſhut up ſhop, and enjoy, in an opulent ſucceſſion, the fruits of the hypocriſy of their father, and of the internal homage, which he always paid to the goddeſs Laverna †.

I learned with aſtoniſhment, that, in England, a conſiderable ſhare of commerce is, by public authority, the object of monopolies. Such are the India and Hudſon's bay companies, &c. with regard to a capital part of foreign trade. There was great talk in London of ſuppreſſing theſe companies; but the private intereſt of almoſt all who have a vote at their meetings, prevents this extinction. Theſe companies have no ſhips of their own; and this they look upon as a great advantage, both to themſelves and the navy in general. They freight veſſels when they have occaſion, and often at a very ſmall expence. The crew are ſupported by thoſe who fit out the veſſels: the only perſons on board belonging to the company, are the ſupercargo, the clerk, and captain, whom thoſe that fit out the ſhip might reject, but they generally admit them.

London is ſaid to be furniſhed with different proviſions, as fiſh, &c. by monopolizers of the ſame ſort. England is likewiſe ſupplied with hemp by another company, which has an excluſive privilege for vending that commodity. As ſocieties, which undertake things of this nature, have occaſion for conſiderable funds, the means, by which they procure them are beneficial to all the ſtockholders, and the advantage accruing to the public from thence equally increaſes the common funds of the nation.

* It is above all, with reſpect to ſaints of this ſort, that the promiſe is fulfilled: "Seek firſt the kingdom of God, and his righteouſneſs, and all thoſe things ſhall be added unto you."

† The goddeſs of gain.

The motive, or rather the pretext, for taking theſe meaſures is, the fear, leſt England ſhould not have ſufficient ſupplies of proviſions for her own ſubſiſtence, and the ſupport of her navy. From hence, in my opinion, reſults the following inconvenience.

The undertakers, who know exactly the quantities requiſite for preſent conſumption, furniſhing themſelves only according to the rate of that conſumption, keep proviſions always at the price they chuſe, that is to ſay, at the higheſt. They maintain, that the nation is a gainer thereby; and thus they prove it. "If, ſay they, every Engliſh merchant had it in his power to furniſh himſelf with commodities immediately from abroad, the quantity imported often exceeding the conſumption, proviſions would become exceedingly cheap; which, as it would ruin individuals, would do the nation the utmoſt prejudice, by ſending into foreign countries a great deal more money than they draw from companies, which, by the excluſive privilege, are enabled to ſet a price upon the commodity, and to fix the quantity to be imported. If, continue they, proviſions grow dearer to the Engliſh, who are the conſumers; at leaſt, the profit, which thereby accrues to the company, does not go out of England."

Gain, in an extenſive commerce, like that of England, is generally the reſult of profound combinations, and well-digeſted ſpeculations; but there are very conſiderable gains, which are entirely due to chance. A clerk belonging to the India company, preparing to ſail from the Indies to England, could not, at his laſt voyage, get forty guineas from an indigent creditor, otherwiſe than in a ſort of reeds, made uſe of in chairs and lattices, which no merchant cared to take off his hands. The clerk, who was obliged to take them, diſtributed them

them in bundles on board the company's veſſels, amongſt cheſts of tea and other merchandize, which muſt be carefully packed up. Thus they paſſed without paying either freight or duties. The company thanked him for his attention; and the clerk, having gathered together all his reeds, ſold them for 1700 guineas.

The love of humanity, under the direction of an enlightened policy, has, ſince the reign of Charles the Second, eſtabliſhed an expedient in England, the firſt idea of which was borrowed from the Jewiſh law: this expedient, at the expence of a few merchants, ſupplies commerce with hands, and often with heads. The king paſſes in parliament an act, by which all inſolvent debtors are cleared. An act of this ſort paſſed both houſes, during my reſidence in London. By this, a prodigious number of inſolvent debtors, confined in the Engliſh priſons, were ſet at liberty. Such an act had not paſſed for ſeven years before, that is the term generally required for an act of inſolvency; but it was thought the king would have paſſed it ſooner, on account of the birth of his eldeſt ſon, in 1763.

The nature of Engliſh commerce, the great dearneſs of proviſions, and the manner of living, with the price of labour in that kingdom, increaſe the number of inſolvent debtors, and occaſion frequent bankruptcies. They generally meet with generous and humane treatment from their creditors, when it appears evidently, that the bankruptcies are owing to misfortunes, and not to any fault of their own. In any caſe whatever, a bankrupt is ſecure as to his perſon, by fairly giving up all his effects, without concealing any part.

The Engliſh are not yet acquainted with the art of contriving a fraudulent bankruptcy, by making uſe of

of the form eſtabliſhed in France to prove the crime, and bring the delinquent to juſtice, as a weapon againſt their creditors. When there is any ſuſpicion of a bankruptcy's being fraudulent, the public is at the expence of proſecuting the offender. It bears the charges of the whole proſecution; and the creditors are not obliged to double their loſs, from a neceſſity of being parties in the affair. Some relaxation and indulgence have in other countries been granted in this article, for the advantage, as it is ſaid, of commerce; this relaxation is dated preciſely at the time, in which the author of Telemachus declared for the ſevereſt puniſhments of bankrupts, whom he conſidered as guilty, with reſpect to ſociety, either of miſmanagement of the money with which they were only entruſted for a time; or of a negligence, in its conſequence as fatal as the worſt miſmanagement.

With regard to common debts, executions reach only the body, and not the goods, in virtue of the law of *Habeas Corpus:* their effect is ſuſpended, as well as in criminal caſes, by giving ſecurity; and where that cannot be procured, they are put in force againſt all perſons of whatever ſtation or rank. If the debt exceeds forty ſhillings, the creditor may have the debtor arreſted in his own houſe; but the officers employed to ſeize him, are not allowed to force open his door. All ſorts of ſtratagems, however, are lawful, in order to get into his habitation. Theſe artifices conſtitute a part of the trade of the ſheriff's officers: they ſeldom miſs their aim, when they are well paid. The goods of the debtor are not liable to be ſeized, except in the caſe of bankruptcy.

England is not afraid of being overſtocked with inhabitants. One of the moſt noted members of parliament,

ment, happening to ſpeak in the houſe of commons, concerning the expulſion of the Jeſuits from France and Portugal, expreſſed himſelf to this effect: "I wiſh they would all come over to England*: they would bring with them the means of living and ſupporting themſelves: at leaſt, they would bring with them their hands."

It is in conſequence of this way of thinking, which is general in England, that the famous father la Valette was received in that country, after being baniſhed from Martinico. I have ſeen, at Hammerſmith, the houſe, which he occupied almoſt two years. He lived there with French Jeſuits, who ſerved him as factors and clerks, and did the duty of confeſſors and chaplains amongſt the Roman catholic inhabitants of the place. He there began trade, being ſupplied with money to carry it on by the Roman catholics. He, at laſt, broke for 80,000 l. ſterling; and a ſmall number of creditors withdrew, at the right time, the ſums they had depoſited in his hands. The French ambaſſador loſt 4,000 l. by this bankruptcy. The Jeſuits, who were in partnerſhip with father la Vallette, quitted his reverence, ſaying all the ill of him they poſſibly could: whether they were really of that opinion, or ſpoke in conſequence of an agreement between him and themſelves.

The views of the Engliſh, with regard to population, render it an eaſy matter to obtain letters of naturalization, which, perhaps, will be, at laſt, extended to every one, that comes to ſettle in the Bri-

* His prayer has been heard: the Portugueſe and French Jeſuits have repaired in crowds to England, where they have joined the Engliſh members of their ſociety: they carry on their intrigues in concert, againſt the powers by whom they were perſecuted.

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tiſh dominions. The treaſury will loſe its right * of eſcheat, and certain duties upon merchandize; but theſe rights or claims have one common origin, and ſhould have ceaſed with thoſe, which adjudged to the owners of lands, ſituated by the ſea-ſide, the goods of ſuch as ſuffered ſhipwreck; and yet theſe rights, to the diſgrace of humanity, made an eſſential article of the law of nations all over the world.

A religious ſentiment, directed by intereſt and avarice, firſt eſtabliſhed this claim to the goods of ſhipwrecked perſons. People conſidered them in the light of men proſcribed and devoted to death, of men who wanted to fly from the divine vengeance. In many countries, the judgment denounced againſt them, by heaven, was fulfilled by ſacrificing them, with all the pomp of ceremony: in all countries, prieſts and temples were enriched by their ſpoils †. In after-ages, they were confiſcated to ſovereigns, or to the lord of the manor; and in places leſs civilized, the firſt that ſeized had a right to poſſeſſion. The emperor Antoninus, however, renounced them, ſo far as regarded the imperial treaſury, by a law, the very terms of which diſcover the tendereſt ſentiments for humanity ‡: *Si quando naufragio*, ſo the law runs, *navis expulſa fuerit ad littus, ad dominos* ‖ *pertineat: fiſcus*

* The right of eſcheat, the origin of which, its champion, Bacquet, could only trace up to the feudal tyranny, was unknown to the Aſiatics, till Naſſer was calif, that is to ſay, till the thirteenth century. It even eſcaped the covetouſneſs of a multitude of conquerors, who neglected nothing to enrich their treaſury. "This exaction, ſays Khondemir, an Arabian author, is the only blot on the reign of that prince." *Hiſt. of the Califs.*

† Thus men, through a principle of religion, renounced the firſt principle of the law of nature: *alteri non feceris quod tibi fieri non vis.*

‡ *Nunquam fiſci cauſa mala, niſi ſub bono principe.* Plin. Paneg. Traj. The claim of the treaſury was never overlooked, except under a good prince.

‖ That is, the owners of the veſſel.

*meus non ſeſe interponat. Quid enim jus habet fiſcus in aliena calamitate, ut de re tam luctuoſa compendium ſectetur**. "If a ſhip happens to be driven aſhore, and wrecked, let the cargo be kept by the owners: my treaſury ſhall never lay lay claim to it: For what right can the treaſury found upon the miſfortune of another, or why ſhould it ſeek to enrich itſelf on ſo melancholy an occaſion." In ſpite of this law, the cuſtom† ſtill ſubſiſted: it never ceaſed till admiralties were eſtabliſhed, which perpetuate them, nevertheleſs, to the utmoſt of their power. But let us reſume the ſubject of eſcheats, of which England would long ſince have deprived the treaſury, to increaſe its ſtrength, and the true riches of the nation, if the emolument, which theſe duties procure to thoſe at the helm, left them entirely free in this reſpect.

All the French refugees were naturalized in the reign of king William. It was propoſed, in the laſt parliament, to invite the Jews over to England, by a favour of the ſame ſort. The motion met with

* In the code, lib. ii. tit. 5. it is falſely aſcribed to Conſtantine.

† It had been abrogated by a law of Henry the Second of France: a law, which, like all the other wiſe ordinances of that prince, was rendered uſeleſs by the troubles, which took their riſe in the reigns of his ſons, and laſted a long time after. *Antiquam & humanam circa naufragos conſuetudinem, in ipſis regni ſui initiis, eximiâ pietate correxit. Hujuſmodi hominibus ab æquoreo diſcrimine libertatis, humanitatis officium exhiberi præcipiens, graves in eos pœnas ſanxit qui forte illis in aliquo moleſti eſſe, vel de rebus eorum quippiam uſurpare præſumerent.* Gul. Neubr. de Henrico II. l. iii. c. 26. He, in the beginning of his reign, with great piety, reformed an antient inhuman cuſtom relating to ſhipwrecks. He gave orders, that the duties of humanity ſhould be performed to thoſe, who eſcaped the dangers of the ſea; and ordained ſevere puniſhments againſt ſuch as ſhould preſume any way to moleſt them, or take any thing belonging to them."

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great oppoſition, and has never ſince been determined*.

The laſt parliament paſſed hundreds of acts of naturalization, in favour of all that deſired them; and particularly of many Frenchmen, who, having conſiderable poſſeſſions on the continent of America, and in the iſlands ceded to England by the laſt treaty of peace, were obliged to take that courſe, in order to ſecure to themſelves the property and enjoyment of thoſe poſſeſſions.

During my reſidence in London, the parliament was paſſing every day ſome of thoſe acts, that are deferred till the latter end of the ſeſſions; when an elephant, kept in the queen's ſtables, happened one morning to be walking in St. James's park. An Engliſhman, meeting it, inquired, "Where the elephant was going?" "No doubt, it is going, ſaid a merry wag, to the parliament-houſe, to get itſelf naturalized."

Were it ever to happen, that reſidence in the dominions of Great-Britain ſhould be ſufficient to entitle to naturalization, and all the privileges of citizens, ſuch a regulation muſt be big with miſchief to the neighbouring ſtates, if they perſiſt to retain their antient forms: they will be a barrier againſt the return of thoſe, who have once ſettled in that kingdom, or, at leaſt, of their deſcendants. But theſe forms will be ſtruck out of the general law of Europe; as the ſlaviſh tenure of villanage, and many other ſuch inſtitutions, have been aboliſhed in France; inſtitutions, which owed their origin merely to the barbariſm of their authors, to the ignorance of ſuch ſtates as bore with them ſo long, and to the private intereſt of perſons at the helm of government.

* An act was paſſed for the general naturalization of the Jews; but ſoon after repealed. T.

THE COLONIES.

THE Engliſh colonies are the chief ſource of the riches of the kingdom, becauſe the Engliſh planters do not, like moſt of our French coloniſts, labour and toil with an intention to return, and live upon their gains in the mother country. The Engliſh Creoles, being ſettled for life in America, improve their fortune to the utmoſt, live in the Engliſh taſte, and make a great figure in their equipages and rich furniture. Boſton, the capital of New England, has above five hundred coaches; and they look upon it as a piece of grandeur to have a Negro for a coachman.

All the money in thoſe colonies paſſes over to England, by means of purchaſes and commiſſions, and the whole wealth that remains with them is in bills; a ſtrong tye, to keep them dependent on the metropolis; but a tye, which will laſt no longer than it continues to be voluntarily and eaſily borne, eſpecially when the Engliſh colonies are ſettled upon the footing to which they aſpire, and which England will perhaps one day repent having forwarded. They have lately made a firſt eſſay of their ſtrength, in the affair of the ſtamp-act.

The inhabitants of the Engliſh ſettlements in America were, in 1740, computed at four millions of ſouls. Every twenty years ſince that æra, the number has been doubled. The increaſe of inhabitants is the more ſenſible, as every new planter, and the ſon of each planter that marries, begins, with building as good a houſe as his circumſtances permit. This increaſe of population in the colonies is not made in prejudice of that of the three kingdoms: Ireland,

in particular, has, within theſe laſt fourteen years, received an increaſe of fourteen thouſand families.

If this progreſſion continues in the ſame proportion with regard to the colonies, is it to be ſuppoſed, that England will long retain its ſovereignty over countries, the extent of which, ſince the laſt peace, is but little ſhort of that of the Roman empire; countries, in which, conſulting prudence leſs than her preſent intereſt, ſhe cauſes veſſels to be built, arms of all ſorts to be forged, and all the mechanic arts to be introduced?

The Engliſh are encouraged in this reſpect, by the diſtance of their colonies from each other, which do not appear contiguous, except upon the ſmalleſt ſort of maps. Situated at the mouths of rivers, the moſt convenient for navigation, they will not, ſays the mother country, of a long time, be able to ſecond each other.

Whenever this time comes, and even before it comes, England will not find in its colonies the ſubmiſſion which it hopes to meet with, except it regulates its conduct towards them by the example of the Greek metropoliſes. The great cities of Greece exerciſing over their colonies neither dominion nor ſovereignty, but conſidering the inhabitants as brethren and children, not as ſubjects *, protected them, preſcribed laws for their conduct, and appointed magiſtrates for their government: they flew to aſſiſt them againſt foreign enemies; they were always ready to avert or to extinguiſh their inteſtine diviſions; in a word, they reigned only by reaſon and good offices, over a people, in whom gratitude and attachment ſupplied the place of dependance and ſubmiſſion. The Greek

* Οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ δῆλοι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ ὁμοιοι εἶναι ἐκπέμπονται. Thucyd. lib. ii. For they are not ſent over to be ſlaves, but to be in a ſtate of equality with thoſe that ſent them.

colonies, united with their metropoliſes by ſentiments like theſe, were their ſtrength, their ſupport, and their glory. They were ready to give them any aſſiſtance in their power, whenever they ſtood in need of it; and that even without being applied to: they often bore the whole weight of a war, which continued as long as the metropolis thought proper. Commerce had firſt given riſe to theſe ſettlements: it was the ſtrongeſt ſupport of them: thus the metropoliſes were indemnified for the expence they had been at in armaments for their defence.

The Romans proceeded upon very different principles in the eſtabliſhment of their colonies. They formed them without any view to commerce, and always as near to each other as they could; they were ſo many bulwarks, equally formidable to the nations already conquered, and to thoſe which were ſtill to be ſubdued. Ever comprized within the limits of the empire, they were ſubject to all the claims and rights of ſovereignty: rights, of which the taxes, impoſts, and contributions, real and perſonal, made an eſſential article. To this let us add, that the principal colonies enjoyed all the privileges of Roman citizens; that they had a right to vote in the aſſemblies of the people; and that they ſupplied Rome with knights, ſenators, conſuls, and emperors *.

In tracing out the principles and motives, which influenced the conduct of the Greeks and Romans, with reſpect to their colonies, when we weigh them, and obſerve their effects, England will there find the rules, which ſhe ought to obſerve, in order to derive

* *Gaudebant eâ civitate cujus imperium armis tuebantur, & quòd ſuorum militum manu in id faſtigium provenerat.* Vell. Pat. lib. iii. c. 15. "They enjoyed the freedom of that city, whoſe empire they defended by arms, and this becauſe it was raiſed to that exalted dignity by the hands of their ſoldiers."

from

from her colonies all poſſible advantage, and to ſecure her government in thoſe parts from all danger of revolutions.

In the Intereſts of England Miſunderſtood, a work publiſhed by the abbé Dubos in 1703, and at preſent thrown amongſt the crowd of fugitive occaſional pieces, we meet with a prediction *, concerning the fate of the Engliſh colonies, which is of ſo extraordinary a nature, that I ſhall here cite the whole paſſage.

" When, ſays the abbé Dubos, the whole continent of North America ſhall belong to England, when ſhe has planted that country, at the expence of her own population, how will ſhe behave to this new ſtate? Will ſhe ſuffer foreigners to carry on trade with it? Will ſhe leave her American ſubjects free from the taxes, which ſhe pays herſelf, to govern themſelves by their own laws, in contempt of the acts of parliament paſſed at Weſtminſter? Will ſhe allow them to cultivate their manufactures, and trade with foreigners? If ſhe obſerves this conduct, ſhe will derive but little emolument from her colonies: foreigners alone will be benefited by them; and the only effect of her new conqueſt will be, the depopulation and ſolitude of the mother country.

" In order to derive from this conqueſt advantages, capable of indemnifying England for what it coſt her, it would be neceſſary to cauſe the navigation-act to be obſerved there; to forbid the inhabitants to cultivate vines and olives, or to eſtabliſh any ſort of manufactures; in a word, Engliſh America ſhould be ſettled upon the plan, and

* Page 148, of the ſecond edition, which came out in the year 1704, from the Royal Printing-houſe, though ſaid to be publiſhed at Amſterdam.

according to the principles, left by Philip the Second for the regulation of Spaniſh America.

" But to attempt to lay ſo heavy a yoke upon ſo flouriſhing a country, two thouſand leagues diſtant from its maſters, and peopled by inhabitants with Engliſh heads, would be reducing it to a neceſſity of ſhaking off the yoke: not wanting the power, it would ſoon have the will; and, to effect this purpoſe, the Engliſh Creoles would, for a time, join the native Americans."

The abbé Dubos then ſtrengthens his conjectures: 1. By the manner, in which America was planted by the Spaniards; and that, in which it will be peopled by the Engliſh: the former, arriving there only in ſmall numbers, accuſtomed themſelves to the rigour of the laws, which they found eſtabliſhed; the Engliſh, entering the country in a body, as it were, will be more ſenſible of that rigour, and have it the more in their power to avoid it. 2. By the different degree of attachment, which the Engliſh and the Spaniards have to their ſovereign. " Who has not heard of the proverbial ſaying, that the king of Spain is a king of men; and the king of England, a king of devils?" The abbé Dubos cites this proverb from Moleſworth's Preface to his State of Denmark*. 3. By the different ideas of ſubordination, with which the reſpective religion of each country inſpires the inhabitants: it is by prieſts and monks, that Spain governs its ſettlements in America. 4. Finally, by the difference in the national diſpoſitions of the Spaniards and Engliſh: patience and good ſenſe are the characteriſtics of the Spa-

* This quotation does not ſeem to be quite fair: lord Moleſworth is far from approving the proverb; he ſays, that England does not deſerve the character of *regnum diabolorum*, ſo common in inconſiderate foreigners mouths. T.

niards;

niards; the love of novelty, turbulence, and audacity, have diſtinguiſhed the Engliſh in all ages.

The ſame author concludes, by predicting the downfall of the Engliſh empire in America in ten years.

On the other hand, every thing promiſed ſtability to the French ſettlements in that country, if the ſecret connexions between Catharine de Medici and Spain had ſuffered her to ſecond the project of the admiral de Coligni, which he began to put in execution in the year 1557. He had formed a reſolution to plant a colony in America, to introduce the Reformed religion there, and, by opening an aſylum, to ſecure many diſtreſſed and unfortunate Proteſtant families from the perſecutions kindled in France*.

The ocean, which ſeparates the old and new worlds, extinguiſhing that animoſity, which is unavoidable between two oppoſite parties in the ſame country, would have preſerved France from the horrors of a civil war. The ſtrong attachment, which the French have to their country, would have kept the new inhabitants in a ſtate of dependence upon this kingdom: the deſire of making a figure, a deſire which is equally congenial to their nature with the former, would, by degrees, have reſtored to France, and to the eſtabliſhed church, the chiefs of the moſt opulent houſes. Thus would this kingdom have neceſſarily become a ſtaple for the French trade to the new world; and their manufactures, which, by revocation of the edict of Nantz, were removed into foreign countries, would ſtill have belonged to France.

All circumſtances concurred to facilitate this project: 1. The republic of Holland had, at this time, no exiſtence; and perhaps ſhe would never have exiſted, had it been

* D'Aubigné, Hiſt. Univ. l. i. c. 16.

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purſued. 2. The Engliſh had then no intention of making any ſettlement in America: the expeditions, which their fleets ſailed upon, had no other view, but to moleſt the Spaniards, and enrich England at their expence. Who even knows, whether the French ſettlements, increaſed and ſtrengthened to the degree, which they might have attained by conſtant migrations, would not have inſenſibly encroached upon the whole continent of America? National hatred, excited and ſpurred on by the diverſity of religion, pointed out the Spaniards as natural enemies to the French Hugonots; enemies, whoſe power bore no proportion to the extent of their poſſeſſions:

Nimium vobis Trojana propago
Viſa potens, ſuperi, propria hæc ſi dona fuiſſent.

If the project of the admiral did not produce the great effects that might be expected from it, we ſhould perhaps account for this, by the principle laid down by M. de Sully; "that French head-pieces are not made for remote poſſeſſions:" thus did that miniſter expreſs himſelf in a letter, dated February 26, 1608, to the preſident Jeannin *. The truth of this principle has been demonſtrated, in a number of ſucceſſive expeditions, very like this firſt. Durand de Villegagnon, a gentleman of Champagne, who was at the head of it, carried thither fanaticiſm, which was the peculiar folly of that age, with ambition and avarice, follies common to all ages and nations: follies, which, by a continual claſhing, defeated the admiral's views upon the new world†.

It was nothing but fanaticiſm, which firſt gave riſe to the Engliſh ſettlements. The moſt brilliant

* The preſident Jeannin's Negociations.

† See an account of this expedition, by de Lery, in the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of Beza, and the Writings publiſhed by Villegagnon, in vindication of his conduct.

of

of theſe colonies was founded by the ſect, which differs moſt from the church of England. Can Engliſh patriotiſm defend them againſt the attacks of ambition and avarice? Time will ſhew us (and, according to the calculation of the abbé Dubos, that time is not far diſtant) whether Engliſh or French head-pieces are beſt calculated for remote poſſeſſions.

EXPORTATION.

THE ſums paid by the ſtate, to encourage the exportation of Engliſh commodities, have carried that of corn to a height, which would be inconceivable, if the merchants had not the addreſs to export a conſiderable quantity of the grain, which they get from the north of Europe, amongſt the Engliſh wheat. But, even granting this, the quantities exported, eſpecially of late years, ſurprized me the more, as in the counties of England, through which I travelled, upon my way either to London, Oxford, or Portſmouth, I ſaw ſcarce any thing but commons, meadows, large parks, wilds, heaths, and very little arable land. It is true, that the lands, leaſed by rich farmers, are extremely well cultivated; the plow ſinks deep into the furrows, and cuts its way, as it were, of itſelf, whilſt the labourer is under no neceſſity of aiding the action of the plow-ſhare. It is alſo true, that the Engliſh ſpare no coſts to manure their grounds; for which end, they employ a great quantity of marle; and the land, in conſequence, yields every ſort of product that can be expected from it; which proves, that it is not ſo much the extent of ground, as the manner of cultivating, which makes the true opulence of the proprietor and the farmer. Nevertheleſs, it is not ſo much

much the plentifulneſs of harveſts, as the ſmall conſumption of corn by the Engliſh, which enables them to export a great quantity of corn.

In fact, ſix or ſeven ounces of bread are ſufficient for the daily ſubſiſtence of an Engliſhman; and that even among the lower ſort. They, properly ſpeaking, live chiefly upon animal food; and their beer furniſhes them with a ſubſtantial and nouriſhing drink.

In 1764, Italy was reduced to the utmoſt extremity by famine; and the want of corn was ſeverely felt in Spain; by the peace, France recovered poſſeſſions, which it was an advantage to England to ſupply with proviſions before it reſtored them: in a word, the Engliſh would fain ſupply both Europe and America; and they were the more eager to do it, as they perceived, that the French were ready to fill the vacuities, which might be left in the ſeveral branches of that lucrative commerce. They acted like the Welch of M. de Voltaire, who ſell all they have with the utmoſt expedition, at the hazard of being obliged to buy it again within three months at a very high price; or like certain ſavages of America, who ſell their beds in the morning, and forget that they ſhall want them at night. Theſe hazardous efforts, followed by a bad harveſt, had exhauſted England to ſuch a degree, that, during my reſidence in London, bread was ſold for four pence a pound; and ſo great was the ſcarcity of corn, that, if the Engliſh had happened to take the ſame liking to bread as the French, the three kingdoms would have been made deſolate by a famine in leſs than eight days.

And yet the parliament did not ſeem to be under any anxiety upon this account. The people aſcribed this unconcern either to a monopoly, in which they affirmed the principal men in the nation to have embarked, or to a deſign of ſending off part of the people

people to the colonies. In fine, when I left London, the parliament, at the cloſe of the ſeſſions, had juſt permitted the importation of foreign wheat, and even French corn, for a limited time. In conſequence of this permiſſion, I found ſeveral veſſels in the French ports, laden with corn for England. This importation met with great difficulties from the navigation act, which England looks upon as its palladium; and, notwithſtanding the critical conjuncture, they had not diſpenſed with the ſevere laws of that act: on the other hand, corn could not be exported from the ports of France, except in French veſſels: but are any difficulties unſurmountable to intereſt and neceſſity? By means of certain meaſures, previouſly concerted, the veſſels, which ſet ſail as French-men, from the ports of France, entered the Engliſh harbours as Engliſh-men.

The ſums of money, which accrue to Great-Britain from the exportation of corn of its own growth, are owing to the ſpeculations and conſtant efforts of cultivators; a ſpecies of men or buſineſs unknown to all the other countries of Europe, and to England itſelf before the ſeventeenth century. Perſons of all ranks and conditions have in England attached themſelves to this branch of trade, which they carry on with good ſenſe and aſſiduity.

THE NOBILITY CONCERNED IN COMMERCE.

GENTLEMEN of fortune, even ſome of the greateſt diſtinction amongſt them, are entirely buſied in the cultivation of their lands, and the ſeveral means of turning them to the beſt advantage. True it is, that the laws of ancient heraldry, which are common both

both to France * and England, formerly permitted, and ſtill permit, poor gentlemen to till their own lands; but they would have looked with a jealous eye upon a gentleman in eaſy circumſtances, had he applied himſelf entirely to huſbandry.

Luckily for England, theſe laws, and the conſequent prejudices againſt commerce and induſtry, are now ſucceeded by notions of a contrary nature. This revolution in the minds of men is one of the happy effects of the civil wars of the laſt century.

Almoſt all the nobility, being attached to the catholic, epiſcopal, or regal parties, was expoſed to the fanatic rage of the enemies and uſurpers of ſupreme authority. Theſe noblemen, being excluded from all civil and military employments, ruined by a thouſand vexations and oppreſſions, under the public ſanction, had no other way of providing for their children, except by national and foreign commerce.

The fortunes made this way raiſed a great many noble families to their primitive opulence: this contributed to diminiſh the prepoſſeſſion againſt trade, and, at laſt, totally eradicated it. Thomas and Richard Walpole, nephews to the celebrated Sir Robert, miniſter under George the Second, are, one a merchant, and the other a banker, in London.

Theſe gentlemen, and ſuch as tread in their ſteps, have partners, clerks, &c. to ſuperintend the detail of their buſineſs. In this reſpect, they think and act like the Italians of the fifteenth and ſixteenth centuries, like the family of Medici, the Strozzis, the Spinolas, and the heads of the grandeſt families of Venice, Genoa, Florence, Milan, &c.

* At the convoking of the ban and rear-ban of the bailiwick of Troyes in Champagne, in 1407, many gentlemen made their appearance to declare, according to the verbal proceſs of that convocation, *that they lived like gentlemen, upon the tillage of their lands*.

This

This conduct of the nobility was favoured by an ancient law of Edward the Second or Third, whereby every citizen, poſſeſſed of land to the value of 20l. per year, was obliged to get himſelf admitted *knight* (miles) in the ſenſe given to this word by the authors of the middle age. James the Firſt, and after him Charles the Second, cauſed this obſolete law to be revived. Their aim was, to get money, without the concurrence of parliament. By this law, which was a pecuniary one originally, a perſon raiſed above the rank of burgeſs, and admitted among the gentry, owed the king and the ſtate his perſonal ſervice: it was purſuant to this plan, that Solon diſtributed the ſeveral claſſes of his commonwealth: rank was ſettled according to the different degrees of fortunes, as in the Roman republic*.

The barbarians, who ſubverted the Roman empire, had imbibed contrary principles: principles, which are ſtill laws to Europe, notwithſtanding the precepts and examples of the greateſt ſages among the ancients. If, in purſuance of theſe examples and precepts, the rank of nobleſſe were granted to every proprietor of a certain quantity of land; ſovereigns † would enrich their dominions by favouring cultivation; would become opulent themſelves; would put a ſtop to the diſputes about the title of gentility, aſſumed daily by rich people; and, in a

* *Si quadringentis ſex ſeptem millia deſunt,*
Plebs eris. Horat.

† In the ſummons of the arriere-ban, that is, of thoſe vaſſals, who hold of the king by a meſne tenure, as it is cited above; and which makes a part of the titles of a family, which ſprung from Troyes; mention is made of perſons, who have declared, "That though they had, till that time, lived like plebeians, they propoſed, for the future, to follow the armies, ſerve the king in perſon, and live like gentlemen;" in conſequence of which reſolution, they were admitted to take the military oaths.

word,

word, would break the ſhackles, with which a falſe prepoſſeſſion has loaded the nobleſſe.

No ſooner were thoſe ſhackles broke, but the civil war of England forged new ones, for which it may juſtly lay claim to applauſe: they have aboliſhed the frenzy for duelling and ſingle combats. The Puritans, the Independents, the Levellers, and other enthuſiaſts, who compoſed the army of Cromwell, had no learning or knowledge, but what they derived from the Bible: finding no examples of ſingle combats in that book, they held them in the utmoſt abhorrence, and as an invention of Antichriſt; hence the prohibition of them, under the ſevereſt penalties, was one of the firſt objects of Cromwell's attention and ſolicitude*. The Roman catholics, attached to the royal party, retained the practice; but, the prejudice againſt them being adopted by the majority, theſe duels were ſcarce ever heard of; and this is one of theſe greateſt advantages, which England reaped from fanaticiſm.

The ſtage will compleat what religion began: no opportunity is there neglected to turn duels into ridicule, and make thoſe who fight them appear contemptible. The point will be the more ſure to be gained, as this frenzy is, by no means, conformable to the Engliſh character: it prevails only amongſt the nobility, and ſome gentlemen, who, in their travels, have adopted foreign manners.

England was a long time, like the reſt of Europe, governed by the laws, which, in certain caſes, enjoined ſingle combats: they are the ſubject of the ſecond book of the great work of Glanville De Leg. & Conſ. Angliæ ſub Henric. II. The reſolution of

* The Engliſh have from the ſame ſource derived their prejudice againſt finances, and the order of financiers: they view them with the ſame eye, with which Chriſt beheld the publicans.

ſove-

ſovereigns had confined this practice within the bounds of the law, which no individual durſt tranſgreſs, and which was to ceaſe by its abrogation. This abrogation has inſenſibly brought the Engliſh to the ſame way of thinking, in this reſpect, with the Greeks*, and thoſe Barbarians who were known to that nation: perhaps their example will, at laſt, induce the reſt of Europe to follow it.

Every Engliſhman almoſt, whether artiſan, merchant, or farmer, that has raiſed a fortune by his induſtry, or lives upon his paternal eſtate, takes a pride in dying rich; in having a pompous funeral, and in making a will, which, by the extraordinary manner of bequeathing his fortune, may ſpread far and wide, in the public papers, the fame of his opulence: this is their way of enjoying it. During my ſtay in England, the whole kingdom rung with the report of a legacy of a very conſiderable amount, left to Mr. Pitt, by a country gentleman, Sir Robert Pinſent, who, though no way related to that miniſter, gave this mark of regard for his political abilities.

CLUBS.

I have already given the reader an idea of the cuſtoms and manners of the inhabitants of London, by deſcribing the life led by merchants and ban-

* The oration of Demoſthenes againſt Midias preſents us with a paſſage, which ſeems to ſhew, that duelling was equally unknown to Greeks and Barbarians. "Would you perſuade me, ſays the orator, that it is more brave and generous, to bear with injuries, and even to reſpect thoſe from whom we receive them, as the Barbarians are accuſtomed to do, than to repel them with the arms, which the laws put into our hands?" Προσκυνεῖν τοὺς ὑβριζοντας, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις, οὐκ αμύνασθαι, κρατιστον εἶναι.

In Midiam, Ed. Francof. p. 400.

kers; and, at the ſame time, took occaſion, to make mention of their coteries or clubs.

The eſtabliſhment of theſe clubs is owing to the Engliſh character, which muſt perpetuate the cuſtom. They are held amongſt friends, who, having contracted an intimacy in their early days, and experienced each other's fidelity, are united by a conformity of taſtes, ſchemes of life, and way of thinking. Theſe meetings fully gratify that deſire, which every man has to aſſociate with his equals. "You Frenchmen, ſaid they to me, are too diſſipated; your converſation with men is too general; you ſee too many perſons and things, to have leiſure to digeſt your reflections: ſo extenſive a ſociety reſembles ſtagnating waters, from which there iſſues out no ſtream."

Affairs of intereſt and religion are conſiderably interwoven with their private connexions, which Addiſon has admirably deſcribed in his Spectator, where we find clubs of hump-backed men, ſtammerers, &c. Their fundamental ſtatutes turn upon all the moſt important duties of friendſhip. I have been aſſured, that when the members of ſome of theſe clubs happen, upon a ſudden emergency, to be diſtreſſed for money, the purſe of every individual of the ſociety is immediately opened to them. It even ſometimes happens that wealthy perſons leave all they are worth to ſome member of the club. Aſſociations of this ſort often unite different religions: but they can never reconcile thoſe, who eſpouſe oppoſite parties in politics: ſo true is the obſervation of one of our greateſt moraliſts, "that there are few friendſhips, which do not partake of the nature of a cabal*."

There are regular clubs, which are held in coffee-houſes and taverns, at fixed days and hours: wine,

* Nicole's Miſcellaneous Thoughts, No. 93.

beer,

beer, tea, pipes, and tobacco help to amuſe them at theſe meetings. There are others kept at the houſes of perſons of fortune: they meet in turn at the apartments of the ſeveral members, if they are batchelors; and even if they are married, in caſe their wives have no objection to it. He, at whoſe houſe the club is kept, ſupplies the members with refreſhments.

Moſt of the public ſocieties have a preſident, who is choſen either by plurality of votes or by ballot, for a limited time; at the expiration of which, they proceed to a new election. The preſident's ſeat is at the upper end of the table; and his chair, ſomewhat more elevated than thoſe of the other members, is adorned with ſome emboſſed figure, relative moſt generally to thoſe objects, which engage the attention of the members.

Strangers, and Frenchmen above all, are excluded from theſe aſſemblies, without particular recommendation: and then they meet with all that reſpect and eaſy reception, ſo much preferable to ceremony and compliments. I was admitted to a club, conſiſting of clergymen, phyſicians, and lawyers; and likewiſe frequented by lords, and other perſons of diſtinction.

The members were ſeated round a large table, on which ſtood bottles of ſeveral ſorts of wine, tea, coffee, and every thing neceſſary for convivial jocundity. Each member drank which he liked, and in what quantity he thought proper: the maſter of the houſe had nothing more to do than produce a freſh ſupply of liquors, as ſoon as the bottles were emptied.

As I was quite unacquainted with the Engliſh language, the different members of the club exerted themſelves to the utmoſt to ſpeak French. They

placed me between two gentlemen, one, who underſtood it pretty well, and the other but indifferently: the former anſwered my queſtions, and I replied to thoſe which the latter aſked me concerning France or the French language. The converſation, at theſe meetings, turns upon a variety of topics, each of which continues as long as the company have any thing to ſay upon it; and the perſon who ſpeaks has no fear of being interrupted. A new comer enters the room quietly, takes the firſt ſeat he can get, as near as poſſible to the perſon who is ſpeaking; or he places himſelf behind the company, after having ſaluted them with a nod, which thoſe, who are near him, return: thoſe who go away, ſave both themſelves and their neighbours the trouble of this ſalutation.

The preſent topic is not always preparatory to that, which comes next upon the carpet: they are often ſeparated by an interval of ſilence, more or leſs conſiderable, all preſent looking upon each other, and reflecting upon what they have heard. This ſilence is interrupted, either by a renewal of the ſame converſation, or by ſomething, which has a connexion with it; and often by ſtarting another ſubject, totally different, and to which they make a ſudden tranſition.

When, in the midſt of a converſation, or at a pauſe, any of the company happened to ſneeze, I ſaluted him according to the cuſtom of France; but I was given to underſtand, that, ſince ſnuff came into faſhion, ſneezing is no longer taken any notice of; and that to ſalute a perſon, who makes uſe of ſnuff, is like complimenting him upon the colour of the hair of his wig.

Amongſt men of learning, artizans, and clergymen, public affairs generally furniſh the ſubject of converſation; every Engliſhman gives as much attention

tention to theſe matters, as if he were the prime miniſter: and this is the caſe even amongſt the loweſt claſs and country people. Pleaſurable and gay converſation is unknown to theſe ſocieties: the Engliſh find no relief from reflection, except in reflection itſelf; they have no other means of amuſing themſelves; and gaming gives them pleaſure, only by affording them an opportunity to reflect.

Amongſt different gaming-clubs, ſuited to the taſte and abilities of thoſe whom they bring together, there are many, at which the members play very deep. At theſe ſocieties, where the members are choſen on account of their love of gaming, reflexion never forſakes even thoſe, who are the greateſt loſers: their loſſes leave no traces on their countenance. I was ſhewn a piece of Engliſh pleaſantry, occaſioned by one of the moſt deſtructive of theſe clubs: this was a large Engliſh ſcutcheon, filled, according to the laws of heraldry, with ſeveral ſymbolical repreſentations of the games moſt in faſhion: the creſt was a hand, holding a large dice-box, with the name of the nobleman to whom it belonged.

The Engliſh, who are profound thinkers, violent in their deſires, and who carry all their paſſions to exceſs, are altogether extravagant in the article of gaming: ſeveral rich noblemen are ſaid to have ruined themſelves by it: others devote their whole time to it, at the expence of their buſineſs, their repoſe and their health. A miniſter of ſtate paſſed four and twenty hours at a public gaming-table, ſo abſorpt in play, that, during the whole time, he had no ſubſiſtence but a bit of beef, between two ſlices of toaſted bread, which he eat without ever quitting the game. This new diſh grew highly in vogue, during my reſidence in London: it was called by the name of the miniſter, who invented it.

Even the loweſt claſs have their clubs. The earl of Cheſterfield told me of one, which meets twice a week at the Robin Hood in Butcher-row. The preſident, who happened to be a baker, is ſeated in a ſort of deſk or pulpit, and portions out time by an hour-glaſs to maſons, carpenters, ſmiths, and others. They ſit three hours: each member has five minutes allowed him to ſpeak; at the expiration of which, the preſident ſtops him by the knock of a hammer. This club is, to uſe an Italian phraſe, of a ſemi-public form. All ſorts of people are admitted; I myſelf was favoured with a ſeat for ſix pence, and had a pint of beer into the bargain. Public affairs, and even religious topics, equally claim the attention and ſpeculations of this meeting, at which the ſubjects that occaſion moſt debate in parliament are often diſcuſſed. Sometimes they make very ſhrewd ſpeeches: I could, however, form no judgment of them, not having been able to find a perſon to interpret for me: I was ſatisfied with obſerving their geſtures and grimaces, which were highly diverting.

Women could never gain admittance to theſe clubs: this they compenſate by private coteries of their own, in which, as we are told, they alſo talk politics. To convince me how much this taſte for politics is general amongſt the Engliſh, and even amongſt the women, I was informed, that lord Tyrconnel, who had been educated in France, came firſt over to England, when he was in the thirtieth year of his age. Being perfectly acquainted with the language, he viſited the Engliſh, and liſtened to their converſations, both at their own houſes, and at the clubs where they met. Tired of hearing nothing but politics during two months, he invited ſome ladies of pleaſure to ſup with him at a bagnio; but ſcarce had

had they ſat down to table, when the converſation turned upon a ſubject, which was then under parliamentary debate, and highly intereſting to the nation. The ladies adopted different ſentiments. In vain did Amphitryon endeavour to change the diſcourſe, and to make them talk of ſubjects more pleaſing and agreeable: they perſiſted to talk politics: he quitted them in a paſſion, and made haſte back to France.

Gentlemen, that meet to dine together, form a ſort of clubs. The converſation does not begin to grow intereſting, till the deſert: then the cloth is taken away, and ſeveral ſorts of wines are brought upon the table; the women having retired, and the room being furniſhed with a certain neceſſary utenſil, they lean upon the table with their elbows, drink about, and ſettle the affairs of the nation. This drinking about which laſts an hour or two, is called toaſting*. The converſation is interrrupted by drinking

* This cuſtom peculiar to the Engliſh, is of an ancient date in that country. In the Life of St. Wulſtan, William of Malmſbury informs us, that the good biſhop, *Cibi & potûs abſtinens erat, quamvis in aulâ ejus, pro more Anglorum, totis poſt prandium biberetur horis, cum quibus ipſe aſſidens pſalmos ruminabat*: ordine tamen ſuo ſe bibere ſimulabat. Hauriebant alii ſpumantes pateras: ipſe minutiſſimum vaſculum tenens, eos ad hilaritatem invitabat, magis conſuetudini patriæ, quàm judicio ſatisfaciens animi.* Pontificum Angl. Geſta, l. iv.

"He was very abſtemious, both with regard to eating and drinking; though it was cuſtomay, for thoſe admitted to his table, to drink, according to the Engliſh practice, for many hours after dinner; with whom, he being ſeated, ſaid the Pſalms to himſelf, yet pretended to drink in his turn. Others quaffed foaming bowls; he himſelf, holding a little cup in his hand, excited them to chearfulneſs, rather in compliance with his country cuſtom, than becauſe he, in his own judgment, thought it right."

The ſame writer had obſerved, that in England, before the Norman conqueſt, *Potabatur in commune ab omnibus, in hoc ſtudio, noctes atque dies perpetuantibus; quæ crapula ſervituti homines patriamqu peſſum dedit.* "They all ſpent their days and nights in public revelling and drinking, which made them and their country an eaſy prey to a foreign invader."

* In old French, the word *Grignotter*, or *Grinzotter*, is uſed in the ſame ſenſe.

to the health, both of the preſent and the abſent; amongſt which, thoſe of the ſtateſmen and the beauty moſt in vogue hold the firſt place.

Now, that I am upon the ſubject of theſe healths, I muſt acquaint the reader, with the opinion of the Engliſh, concerning the firſt riſe of this cuſtom, which the Scotch Highlanders have preſerved in its original purity. Thoſe people, who are ſtill but half civilized, and who live in eternal diſcord and faction, on account of the quarrels of their chiefs, and the enmities which thoſe quarrels perpetuate in families, are ſometimes united by feaſts and merry meetings. Drinking to a perſon's health, at theſe feaſts, means, that you requeſt him to guard you whilſt you are drinking. In conſequence of this tacit intreaty, the perſon, whom you drink to, replies, "I will pledge you," or, *I will anſwer for it*; draws his dagger, fixes it on the table, and continues upon the watch till you have drunk off your glaſs, and laid it down. This rudeneſs of manners and behaviour is, without doubt, the higheſt pitch of barbariſm: *Tollite barbarum morem, ſodales!* exclaimed Horace, ſpeaking of a cuſtom, which had nothing of this barbarity in it. It obtained in France notwithſtanding, if we may judge by the ancient expreſſion, *Je vous pleige*, [I pledge you,] made uſe of by our anceſtors in returning this health: this was the very ſame form of words made uſe of by the Scotch Highlanders: perhaps it was even attended with the ceremony of fixing the dagger on the table, at the time of the wars between the Burgundians and the Armagnacs, and at other unfortunate periods, during which the French were in the ſame rude ſtate as the Scotch Highlanders are at preſent.

There are aſſemblies in London, where both ſexes meet: ſuch are thoſe, which are held upon certain days

days by miniſters of ſtate, ambaſſadors, and perſonages of the firſt rank. Such were the balls ſubſcribed to by a particular company, who meet on ſtated days, or rather nights; but the middling ſort of people have no ſhare in theſe tumultuous pleaſures, which are as foreign to their taſte as to their manner of life.

The pleaſures of Vauxhall and Ranelagh unite both ſexes, and all ranks and conditions. Theſe entertainments were begun about thirty years ago. Ranelagh-gardens, diſtant about half a league from town, are of a conſiderable extent, but remarkable for their variety and fine illumination; in the midſt of theſe gardens is a rotunda, or a round ſaloon, of about an hundred and eighty feet diameter, capable of containing five or ſix hundred perſons. In the centre, there is a chimney, ſupported upon four pillars, and a braſier, with four faces, on which the different beverages are warmed for the company. This braſier diffuſes leſs heat than that of a ſtove, and emits a brilliant luſtre: it is the centre of motion, and the ſanctuary of this elegant temple. Sconces of a vaſt ſize, and rows of lamps, diſtributed through the hall, form the reſt of the illumination. Oppoſite to one of the fronts of the braſier, is an amphitheatre compoſed of ſeats, gradually riſing above each other; and here a band of excellent muſic is employed the whole evening, in playing grand ſymphonies, and pieces both of Italian and Engliſh compoſition, alternately. The inſide of the ſaloon is divided into three ſtories. The firſt, adorned with pillars, is diſtributed into boxes, all furniſhed with a table and ſeats for ten perſons: at the farther end, you ſee a large figure in freſco, which ſerves as a ſort of ſign to the apartment. The ſecond order,

formed of pilaſters, is cut into galleries, which correſpond with the boxes upon the ground-floor: before theſe galleries, there are moving lattices, by means of which, one may ſee and enjoy all the pleaſure of the place unperceived. The third is a ſimple Attic order, with windows equally diſtributed, which by day give light to the ſaloon. The fire-place is ſurrounded in a circular manner, with four rows of tables and different benches, for the convenience of the company. At theſe tables, as well as in the boxes, they can have coffee, tea, chocolate, bread and butter, in what quantity they think proper, paying half a crown at their admittance.

Imagine to yourſelf the ſaloon, amphitheatre, boxes, and galleries, all filled with company, and, on the ground-floor* a multitude of perſons walking in every direction; the murmuring of this crowd, drowned by a continued ſymphony; the whole illuminated with a milder gleam than that of day: you will eaſily conceive, that there are few objects more ſtriking.

Nothing is wanting to enliven this entertainment compleatly, but dancing, which the continued ſymphony ſeems to require; but this exerciſe one would ſuppoſe little ſuited to the taſte of the Engliſh, who chuſe rather to walk round and round, till their heads turn. As they imagine, perhaps, that dreſs is an eſſential to dancing, they find it more agreeable to forego the amuſement, than to be under a neceſſity of quitting their favourite undreſs. In this eaſy at-

* Directed by the leering eyes of a groupe of females, I one night diſcovered, amongſt the crowd, an old officer in his regimentals, leaning upon a young man. Examining the face of the officer, and that of the young man, I thought I ſaw the old, drunken, voluptuous Anacreon, walking with his minion, Bathyllus: and, I find, that England has its Anacreons and Bathyllus's.

tire

ſire, ladies of the firſt diſtinction are accuſtomed to frequent Ranelagh: and as it brings them near a level with the citizens wives, the uniformity of appearance gives that air of freedom and eaſe to the whole aſſembly, which is the conſtant concomitant of equality *.

Vauxhall is as near to London as Ranelagh. Its ſaloon, of the ſame form, is much leſs conſiderable in extent; but it has the porch I have already deſcribed, which is wanting to compleat the magnificence of Ranelagh. Beſides, the gardens, in the centre of which it ſtands, and which are illuminated throughout, are more extenſive than thoſe of Ranelagh. The band of muſic has likewiſe its orcheſtra, but it is in the garden; and the boxes for the company are ſcattered about, in the form of the Chineſe kioſques. The admittance coſts a ſhilling; but the company may be provided with a ſupper, and the whole is paid according to an advertiſement fixed upon the door of the ſaloon.

Theſe entertainments, which begin in the month of May, are continued every night. They bring together, as I have already obſerved, perſons of all ranks and conditions; and amongſt theſe, a conſiderable number of females, whoſe charms want only that chearful air, which is the flower and quinteſſence of beauty. Theſe places ſerve equally as a rendezvous, either for buſineſs or intrigue. They form, as it were, private coteries: there you ſee fathers and mothers, with their children, enjoying domeſtic happineſs, in the midſt of public diverſions.

The Engliſh aſſert, that ſuch entertainments as theſe can never ſubſiſt in France, on account of the

* When our author was in England, the undreſs of Ranelagh correſponded with that of Vauxhall; but the ladies now rather make a diſtinction, and generally appear dreſſed at Ranelagh. T.

levity.

levity of the people. Certain it is, that thoſe of Vauxhall and Ranelagh, which are guarded only by outward decency, are conducted without that tumult and diſorder, which often diſturb the public diverſions of France. I do not know, whether the Engliſh are gainers thereby: the joy, which they ſeem in ſearch of at theſe places, does not beam through their countenances; they look as grave at Vauxhall and Ranelagh, as at the Bank, at church, or a private club. All perſons there ſeem to ſay, what a young Engliſh nobleman ſaid to his governor, *Am I as joyous as I ſhould be?*

Yet, when we compare the ſplendor and magnificence of theſe places, to the wretched appearance of both houſes of parliament, of the courts of juſtice, and even of the king's palace; a foreigner would be tempted to think, that the Engliſh, ſupremely fond of pleaſure, conſecrate the whole grandeur and magnificence of the kingdom to that favourite idol.

HORSE-RACES.

THERE are other pleaſures, in which the Engliſh allow themſelves an unlimited indulgence, and which they take with the ſame ſerious air as the former; I mean, Cock-fighting and Horſe-races. Theſe diverſions are carried to a pitch of madneſs, by waging great ſums of money. Many gentlemen of fortune ruin themſelves by theſe pleaſures, of which I had a ſpecimen at Epſom; where a conſiderable number of the inhabitants of London, and all the neighbouring gentry, were aſſembled on the occaſion. I ſaw, with the utmoſt aſtoniſhment, how greatly the ſpectators of all ranks ſeemed to intereſt themſelves in Cock-

Cock-fights, which, after all, are no more than childrens play *.

Horſe-races are more intereſting to men; and, eſpecially to men, who, like the Engliſh, have a great fondneſs for theſe animals, ſtudy their conſtitutions, and, in a manner, live with them. The taſte for Horſe-races made antient Greece illuſtrious: it was one of the chief ſubjects handled by their greateſt poets: it made a capital article in thoſe feſtivals, that contributed to give that ſuperiority of knowledge and valour to Greece, by which it was ſo long diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of Europe.

The courſe at Epſom is in the midſt of downs, interſected by three hills in parallel lines: in the vales between theſe hills, the champions entered the liſt. Several of the ſpectators came in coaches, which, without the leaſt buſtle or diſpute about precedency, were arranged in three or four lines, on the firſt of thoſe hills: and, on the top of all, was a ſcaffolding for the judges, who were to decree the prize. This ſcaffolding was the goal, which bounded the race; and the ſtarting-poſt was at the head of the outer vale of the ſecond hill: four horſes, ſtarting from thence, ran in this vale about the length of a mile, turned round by the next hill, to the height of the ſtarting-poſt, and, at length, reached the hill, on which ſtands the ſcaffolding; where he, that came in firſt, was declared the victor. The prize is not adjudged till after three heats; and to him only, who has won two out of three: if he be ſo ſucceſsful as to win the two firſt, the third is diſ-

* Theſe cock-fights, and bettings, are, notwithſtanding, of a very ancient date; nations moſt celebrated for the politeneſs and ſuavity of their manners, have often engaged in theſe ſports. See *Camerar. Var. Hiſtor.* l. v. c. 9.

penſed

penſed with; which was what happened at the race, where I was a ſpectator.

There are neither liſts nor barriers at theſe races: the horſes run in the midſt of the crowd, who leaves only a ſpace ſufficient for them to paſs through; at the ſame time, encouraging them by geſtures and loud ſhouts. The victor, when he has arrived at the goal, finds it a difficult matter to diſengage himſelf from the crowd, who congratulate, careſs, and embrace him, with an effuſion of heart, which it is not eaſy to form an idea of, without having ſeen it.

The deference to the victors is not confined to theſe tranſient homages. All the houſes of country gentlemen, all the inns, are lined with pictures of horſes, painted or engraved, in various attitudes of ſtrength or agility, with an account of the victories they have won, their names, thoſe of the jockeys by whom they were trained, in fine, thoſe of the noblemen to whom they belong, and from whom they met with all the care and tender treatment, that favourite children can expect from a parent.

So great was the crowd, which covered the place, where the horſes ran; that I could not ſee them, except upon the ridge of the ſecond hill. They kept upon the full ſtretch, without riſing or darting forward; and appeared to me to reſemble wooden horſes, that had been fixed in full ſtretch, upon the rim of a great horizontal circle, moving round upon its axis, with the utmoſt rapidity imaginable.

Theſe race-horſes, reſembling, in this reſpect, many perſons of merit, do not ſhew their worth by their outward appearance; they are quite gaunt and meagre; and the awkward manner of ſtretching out their necks deprives them of all their beauty, the principal of which, in a horſe, is, to hold its head in a graceful attitude.

This

This breed of horſes furniſhes the Engliſh racers, ſo highly eſteemed. The preſervation and multiplication of them is owing to laws, enacted by Henry the Eighth; and to prizes, eſtabliſhed in different parts of England, for the victors at races: in ſhort, this breed of horſes is the ſame thing, with reſpect to that ſpecies of animals, as gladiators were, with regard to the human ſpecies, amongſt the ancient Greeks and Romans.

Theſe races are not, like thoſe of Barbary horſes at Rome, and in other cities of Italy. Each race horſe is rid by a jockey, who is, generally ſpeaking, only a common groom, that has not the leaſt ſhare in the honour of the victory: this is divided between the horſe and the owner. The horſes are ſometimes mounted at races by noblemen, who are willing to run the riſk. They are leſs expoſed to the danger of falling, bruiſing themſelves, or diſlocating a limb, as happened to a young nobleman at his firſt race at Newmarket, than to be deprived of reſpiration, by the velocity of the motion. In order to cut the air, the groom, who is almoſt totally inclined upon the neck of the horſe, holds the handle of the whip fixed before him, or ſhakes it before his mouth.

Before the race begins, the jockey, the ſaddle, and whole furniture of the horſe, are weighed in preſence of the judges; and care is taken, that all the horſes, admitted to run, be equally loaden.

Victory is often due to the knowledge, which the jockey has of his horſe; and to the direction, which he gives him, by ſpurring him forward, or managing him properly. In the two heats, which decided the prize at Epſom, the horſe, which firſt reached the goal, was outſtripped when I ſaw him upon the eminence.

The

The Engliſh in general have a degree of friendſhip and affection for horſes, which few men ſhew even to their own ſpecies. They ſeldom or ever ſtrike them; and the long ſwitch, which coachmen and carmen carry in their hands, is rather to direct them by ſigns than by blows: they ſeldom even ſpeak to them, except with a gentle and affectionate tone of voice.

The horſes of gentlemen of fortune, both in town and country, generally ſpeaking, die in the ſtable, where they were born: they are treated like old friends, who, when advanced in years, are taken care of, in conſideration for paſt ſervices. There are few, ſeldom any, but good horſes to be ſeen in London: even the hackney coachmen have tolerable good cattle*. But it is in the operation of ſhoeing them, eſpecially in the country, that the care taken of theſe animals moſt eminently diſplays itſelf. A farmer goes with his horſe to a farrier, ties it lengthwiſe to a ring, careſſes it, takes off his coat, puts it upon the head of the beaſt, in ſuch a manner as to cover its eyes, and, holding it by the head, continues to talk to it, and careſs it, as long as the operation laſts. The farrier ſhews as much tenderneſs for the beaſt as his maſter; he ſoothes the horſe, ſpeaks to him, lifts his foot gently from the ground; and, after having given the leg and thigh a motion of rotation, which made me think at firſt, that he was going to ſet a diſlocated limb: he held the foot with one hand, and, without the leaſt emotion, performed the operation with the other.

* Moſt of them act both as *fiacres* and *remiſes*; that is, they are hired by the hour, or the day: when they are hired by the hour, they have a number painted upon a plate of block-tin; when they are hired by the day, the number is taken off: they are drawn by the ſame horſes; and when they are out of London, they go at the rate of thirty leagues a day.

This

This tender treatment renders horſes both tractable and friends to men: the ardour and fire, with which they are animated, do not in the leaſt diminiſh their gentleneſs of temper. During the ſeſſion of parliament, I ſaw, with pleaſure, in Weſtminſter, amidſt a number of the fineſt horſes in England, crowds of children playing with the dumb animals, and the latter returning their careſſes, to the great ſatisfaction of the coachmen. During the long ſittings of the houſe, they are ſeen diverting themſelves, pawing the ground, as if they wanted to gather up ſomething, and performing this motion with all the flyneſs and nimbleneſs of a cat.

The ſhops of farriers are not known in England by the traviſe, which gives ſo much torture to unruly horſes: the gentleneſs of thoſe of England renders this unneceſſary. None are tied up within the ſhop, but thoſe that make a difficulty to ſubmit to the operation.

The tenderneſs of the Engliſh for their horſes does not prevent them from making them work hard: the little, and ſometimes the great gallop, is their favourite and moſt uſual pace. I have, with aſtoniſhment, ſeen horſes, that galloped in this manner, ſtopped in the middle of a journey by their riders, at every place where there was water to drink: rivers, ſtreams, fountains, all are alike to them. In places where water is ſcarce, the want of it is ſupplied by great troughs, which publicans keep at their doors: there the riders ſtop; and, when the horſes have drunk, pay their reckoning. The ſame conduct is obſerved, even with regard to poſt-horſes *. When they are come to their journey's end, covered all over with ſweat, they go to a brook to quench their thirſt, if

* If, by ſome unexpected event, theſe horſes are obliged to ſtop by the way, coverings are thrown upon their bodies, in cold weather.

there be one near them; or drink out of great troughs, which are always kept full on their account. The Engliſh affirm, that this in part reſtores their exhauſted powers; and none of thoſe inconveniences happen, which are ſo much dreaded in other countries.

In a word, when we conſider the manner, in which the Engliſh treat their horſes, and in which they live with them, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, one would be inclined to think, that they had travelled with Gulliver to the country of the Houynhnms; and that they had brought from thence all thoſe ſentiments of eſteem and affection, which Gulliver entertained for thoſe *gentlemen*. Dr. Swift was under no neceſſity to leave Ireland, to go in queſt of the country of the Houynhnms, if what we are told by the author of *Les Delices de la Grande Bretagne* be true*, "That ſuch of the Iriſh, as are ſtill in the ſtate of pure nature, are ſo fond of their horſes, that, when any one mentions them, they would always have him add, God preſerve them; or ſpit upon them, if they happen to be preſent: as they have a notion, that otherwiſe they will be ſeized with ſome diſorder. They are likewiſe of opinion, that the way to preſerve their life and health is, not to ſuffer their neighbours to come to their houſes for fire."

Though the Engliſh are ſo fond of horſes, they have not the leaſt tenderneſs for aſſes. It is cuſtomary with them to deprive theſe animals of the chief ornament, which they have received from nature: they cut off their ears cloſe to their heads, which gives them the oddeſt and moſt ludicrous appearance imaginable. A worthy clergyman preached to no purpoſe in his village againſt this practice. He muſtered up all the arguments, that had been made uſe of againſt the pra-

* P. 1438.

ctice

ctice of maſquerades, which were then tolerated in England*; and he had demonſtrated, that it was not lawful for man to alter and disfigure the work of God.

The Engliſh are as fond of riding as the Italians are of muſic. It rouſes them, it prevents, ſuſpends, and removes the effects of melancholy upon the conſtitution: it is an habitual want, and a neceſſary remedy. They chiefly have recourſe to this remedy by hunting. When they are upon the chace, they ride acroſs incloſed grounds, interſected and fenced by ditches: horſes leap theſe ditches, where they are loweſt; in caſe they happen to be equally high throughout the whole extent of an incloſure, they approach the entrance, which is ſhut by a bar-gate, or moving frame five feet long, and at leaſt four feet high: all the huntſmen leap it in a file, and ſometimes two in a breaſt. The Engliſh ladies, who are great huntreſſes, for ſome of the reaſons which I have laid before the reader, leap over this frame likewiſe, though they ſit ſideways upon their horſes. This manner of riding they find highly commodious, deriving it from Anne of Luxembourgh, conſort to king Richard the Second, whoſe example cauſed it to be introduced as the moſt decent manner of riding for women: thus mounted, they travel long journeys, upon a ſmart trot.

Coaches produce, upon the pavement of London, the effect of a hard trot: this is the rudeſt ſhaking, which mechaniſm can invent. The pavement is ſo

* The earthquake at Liſbon made at London an impreſſion, the more lively, as many of its inhabitants were conſiderable loſers thereby. The London clergy ſeized this opportunity, to preach againſt the maſquerades, which were aboliſhed, on account their clamours and invectives againſt them.

bad *; the horſes run with ſuch impetuoſity, where they meet with no embarraſſment or obſtacle; and carriages drag on ſo heavily, where the paſſages are obſtructed; that the beſt coach makes as rumbling a noiſe as the heavy carts which butchers boys drive about the ſtreets of Paris. Even in walking, the Engliſh exert themſelves with much the ſame violence, whether it be in the ſtreet, or in a garden.

Whilſt I was waiting for a lawyer in Lincoln's-inn, who was expected every moment at his chambers, I went to take a turn in the garden. There I beheld an Engliſhman by himſelf, walking very faſt, ſwinging his arms, ſtamping with his feet, and uſing all the geſtures of a boxer, who, whilſt he is waiting for his antagoniſt, throws himſelf into the attitudes neceſſary to excite his courage, or keep himſelf in breath. The ſcene opened, when I entered the garden: I paſſed an hour and an half in that place; and left my gentleman, who is perhaps ſtill ning to and fro, and ſwinging his arms.

Happening one day to pay a viſit near the Muſeum, the company I was with, ſhewed me, in a field † hard by, the late Mr. York, attorney-general; who was then retained in a remarkable cauſe. He recited his pleading, with ſome of the geſtures of the man at Lincoln's-inn; but, as theſe were occaſioned by a certain, determinate object, they did not reſemble thoſe of a frantic perſon.

* The new pavement has removed this objection. T.

† A private encloſed field, between the gardens of the Muſeum and Bedford-houſe, which Mr. Yorke often retired to in fine weather, for exerciſe and ſtudy. T.

THE ENGLISH MELANCHOLY.

ITS CAUSES, EFFECTS, AND REMEDIES.

NOTWITHSTANDING all the involuntary and premeditated efforts of the Engliſh, to diſpel the melancholy, which ſo predominates in their conſtitution,

Poſt equitem ſedet atra cura;

It produces amongſt them a thouſand effects as well general as particular, which I ſhall examine in the ſequel.

Before I enter into this diſcuſſion, may I preſume to enquire into the cauſes of that diſmal gloom?

The fogs, with which London, and the three kingdoms whereof London is the metropolis, are perpetually overcaſt, the conſtant humidity, and the variation in the climate, occaſioned by the ſea-air, at the ſame time, that they give, in all ſeaſons, to the fields and meadows, a moſt beautiful verdure, unrivalled and indeed unattainable in all other countries, muſt neceſſarily have an effect upon the conſtitution of the inhabitants.

The Engliſh live chiefly upon animal food: the quantity of bread, which one Frenchman eats in a day, would be enough for four Engliſhmen. Beef is their commoneſt ſort of meat; and this meat, which they ſet a value upon, in proportion to its quantity of fat, mixing in the ſtomach with beer, their uſual drink, muſt give riſe to a chyle, whoſe viſcous heavineſs can tranſmit none but bilious and melancholy juices to the brain.

If their beer, however light and ſparkling, has an effect upon the head, it is by making it quite heavy, and introducing all the dreadful intoxication of the moſt beaſtly ebriety. The ſort of beer, which they call

Porter, hardly ferments in the ſtomach: yet it was of all the Engliſh liquors that which I liked beſt, and choſe to drink for a conſtancy. Unaccuſtomed as I was to beer of any ſort, and though porter is reckoned very ſtrong, it did not ſo much affect my head as my ſtomach and bowels: I found it a very gentle purge, when I happened to exceed my uſual quantity. This ſort of beer is brewed no where but in London*: for a long time, it was uſed only by porters, and the loweſt of the vulgar: but, ſince people have taken it into their heads to conſider it, as a ſpecific againſt the gravel, the better ſort, and even the ladies themſelves, condeſcend to drink it.

In the account I gave the reader of thoſe commodities which are for general conſumption in England, I have ſpoken of the ſcarcity of wine, and the ſort of wine which is there drunk. Both greatly contribute to occaſion that melancholy, which is ſo general amongſt the Engliſh. Without citing all the praiſes, which Horace, and moſt of the ancients, beſtow upon this liquor, and without deſiring to give ſanction to the proverb, which allows a debauch once a month; I cannot deny but we are indebted to the juice of the grape for moſt of thoſe pretty compoſitions, which are the quinteſſence of the wit both of the ancients and the moderns. That of the Greeks partook of all the qualities of their wine: vivacity, warmth, ſprightlineſs. Their wines diverted them agreeably from love, and all thoſe ſtrong paſſions, which were inſpired by the warmth of their conſtitution and their natural temper.

The ſmoke of ſea-coal fires, with which the atmoſphere of London is generally filled, may be reckoned amongſt the phyſical cauſes of the melancholy of its inhabitants. The terreſtrial and mineral parti-

* It contains a large doſe of elder flower.

cles,

cles, with which that ſmoke is impregnated, inſinuate themſelves into the blood of thoſe who are always inhaling them, render it dull and heavy, and carry with them new principles of melancholy.

The moral cauſes, which partly reſult from the phyſical, heighten, and continue what the others began.

Education, religion, public diverſions, and the works of authors in vogue, ſeem to have no other end in view, but to feed and propagate this diſtemper.

Education, the aim of which ſhould be to direct, and to temper the natural diſpoſition, has little or no influence upon the Engliſh. It begins with teaching to read and write at home. The principal object of this ground-work of education is, not to put any conſtraint upon the tempers of children, nor any biaſs upon the operations of nature, in unfolding the faculties either of the body or mind: this is conformable to the principles laid down by Ariſtotle, in the laſt book of his Politics.

In purſuance of the ſame principle, children are ſent from their father's houſe to public ſchools, in which there are a great number of boys, and which are ſupported and maintained by handſome foundations. After the young people have, in theſe ſchools, been taught the elements of the learned languages, they are ſent to the univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge.

The public ſchools and univerſities, by bringing together perſons of all ranks and conditions in life, put them, in ſome meaſure, upon a level. A ſpirit of emulation reigns there, which is excluded by domeſtic education: connexions are formed, which often lay the foundation of the greateſt fortunes. "Such, ſay the Engliſh, was the education at Sparta, calculated to form men, and not petit maitres:

ſuch was the education of the preſent royal family, who were brought up with other children of the ſame age, that ſhared their paſtimes and amuſements. The princes, brothers to the king, have thereby contracted that popularity, which the Romans called *civilitas*: a popularity the more agreeable to the public, inaſmuch as, whilſt they are treated with condeſcenſion, they conſider their maſters as fellow-citizens and friends."

I have attended Weſtminſter-ſchool; and have ſeen Eton: which are the chief foundations of this ſort. The children, who are all dreſſed alike, in the plaineſt manner imaginable, and who have their hair cut like our brethren *De la Charité*, with a band on their necks, ſhew how they are likely to turn out at the age of fifty. With faces, which are, generally ſpeaking, very handſome, and with an air of the utmoſt mildneſs, they are the moſt intractable, and the moſt obſtinate creatures, that ever came out of the hands of nature. In their deportment, in their very paſtimes, their countenances ſhew nothing of that flexible diſpoſition, and thoſe winning graces, which elſewhere are diſcoverable in boys of their age*; they do not betray their archneſs by thoſe tricks, and thoſe little frolics, the reſult of which is to laugh at the expence of their ſchool-fellows. To make up for this, they are mad for violent exerciſes, the want of which they already feel; to be indulged in theſe exerciſes, is the greateſt favour they expect from their maſters. If, during their recreations, they liſten to the con-

* A gloomy ſerioufneſs ſupplies the place of this, in their early youth: this I took particular notice of twice, that I heard ſervice at the tabernacle of the Methodiſts. The window-ſeats, the doors, and the baſes of pillars, were covered with children of three or four years of age. Though the ſervice was very long, theſe children diſcovered no ſymptoms of inquietude, uneaſineſs, or impatience.

verſation

verſation of their tutors, generally ſpeaking, this turns upon politics, and either tires and diſguſts them, or inſpires them with an early taſte for ſubjects of that nature.

If we follow theſe youths to the univerſity, which is governed by a deſpotic principal, the recluſe manner of living in the ſeveral colleges, ſeems calculated to give an additional degree of ſtiffneſs and obſtinacy to thoſe haughty, harſh, and unyielding ſpirits, rather than to ſoften their diſpoſition.

As we ſailed up the Thames from Windſor to Eton, at about fifty paces from the college, we came to the head of a mill-bank, where were three of the grown ſcholars, who had hid themſelves amongſt the reeds, to erect a little battery: we paſſed by them, and were ſaluted with a general diſcharge, which would, doubtleſs, have peppered us moſt terribly, if they had been better marksmen. We were obliged to them for their good intention; and arrived at the college, after having croſſed a meadow, which ſeparates it from the Thames. It was then ſun-ſet, the damps began to fall, and the graſs was covered with a dewy moiſture: yet at this very time we ſaw about ſixty of the boys, in their ſhirts, dripping with ſweat, and playing at cricket. A pretty youth, nearly related to the earl of Cheſterfield, upon ſeeing me, quitted his play, and came to pay his reſpects. With aſtoniſhment, I heard, that he and his companions took this recreation every day, at the ſame hour, and in the ſame place. Theſe boys, were watched by one perſon only, at ſome diſtance, who ſat upon the banks of the Thames, with a book in his hand.

Having afterwards viſited the college, which is divided into ſeveral courts, the largeſt adorned with a bronze ſtatue of the founder, Henry the Sixth, we walked about the town, and entered a grocer's ſhop,

to

to wait the arrival of part of our company. During the ſhort ſtay that we made there, about a dozen of the ſcholars came, to buy biſcuits, ſugar-plumbs, and other ſweet-meats. There was a buxom wench, belonging to the ſhop, whom ſome of thoſe young gentlemen careſſed and kiſſed before our faces.

I have elſewhere ſpoken of the quarrels, which happen amongſt thoſe boys, eſpecially in their walks; quarrels, which, the day following, or when firſt an opportunity offers, they decide by fiſty-cuffs, with the reſolution and obſtinacy of boxers by profeſſion. Scarce can the preſence of the moſt reſpectable company keep the young people in awe. Could we ſuppoſe an aſſembly of that ſort, it was ſurely that, which met in Weſtminſter-hall, when lord Byron was brought to a trial. At the head of the incloſure, which was ſet apart for the peers, over whom the lord-chancellor preſided as high-ſteward, ſtood a throne; which, though it was not filled by the king, repreſented royal majeſty in judgement. The children of the nobleſt families in England, dreſſed in little frocks, which they wear at ſchool, and which confounds them with the offſpring of citizens and the lower ſort of people, were crowded on the ſteps going to the throne, and ſeemed very attentive to the proceedings of the court. But they began afterwards to behave like themſelves, as ſoon as the peers entered into debate upon the ſeveral articles of the accuſation; then they rolled about the ſteps of the throne, quarrelled, ſwallowed down apples, with which their pockets were crammed, and threw the remainder in each other's faces. I even ſaw ſome of them fling bits of apples into the enormous periwig of the lord-high-ſteward, who was the more conveniently ſituated for that purpoſe, as the back of his ſeat was towards the throne: he turned about two or three times, with a com-

complacent air, which ſeemed to ſhew, that he took their freedom in good part. In a word, I never ſaw youths behave in a leſs decent manner, or appear leſs ſenſible of the dignity of a magiſtrate.

The lower choir of St. Paul's offered to my eye a ſight of the ſame nature: it conſiſted of about a dozen beggarly boys, dreſſed in ſurplices, which hung very ſlovenly; now moving to and fro, now ſtanding ſtill; now ſinging, or rather ſqueaking, and now quite ſilent, as they happened to be in humour; and often making mouths at each other. What a difference between ſuch diſorderly choriſters, and thoſe reſpectful puppets, which adorn the choirs of our cathedrals and college-chapels!

It muſt, notwithſtanding, be acknowledged, that in perſons of all ranks, the Engliſh education is a preſervative againſt effeminacy, vanity, and an idle life. *Mollis educatio*, ſays Quintilian, *nervos omnes mentis & corporis frangit. Quid non adultus concupiſcet qui in purpuris repit. Nondùm prima verba exprimit & jam coccum intelligit, jam conchylium poſcit! Ante palatum eorum quàm os inſtituimus.* "An effeminate education breaks the ſtrength both of the body and mind. What wants will he not have in his manhood, who is enervated in his childhood? Scarce can he ſpeak plain, before he aſks for delicacies of all ſorts! We form their palates before we teach them to ſpeak." This education was, notwithſtanding, beſt ſuited to the age, in which Quintilian lived; as then men were not wanted, but ſlaves, flexible to the will and caprices of a Nero, a Domitian, and the ſeveral tyrants who ſucceeded them.

Young perſons, who come into the world, after having been educated in the Engliſh ſchools, are juſt in the ſituation recommended by the duke de la Rochefoucault. "Youth juſt entering the world, ſays he, muſt

muſt be either timid or inconſiderate: a ſerious and ſelf-ſufficient air, generally ſpeaking, degenerates into impertinence."

Public education is almoſt the only ſort known in England: children of the firſt rank have private tutors, who prepare them for the public ſchools. The happy conſequence of this is, that England is not overburthened with a kind of people, who, having paſſed their beſt years in a way which produces only a temporary ſubſiſtence, ſpend the remainder in a ſtate of celibacy, and are equally uſeleſs to themſelves and others.

Young ladies are brought up at boarding-ſchools, of which there is a conſiderable number in London, and all over England. Ladies of quality are educated by governantes, moſt of whom are Frenchwomen or daughters of French refugees, who have followed the ſame buſineſs in Germany, Holland, and all parts of the North of Europe. Theſe governantes, who have generally refined ſentiments, complain very much of the indocil diſpoſition of their ſcholars.

I ſaw, to my great aſtoniſhment, at a very genteel houſe in London, a little man, who ſuperintended the education of a boy, and occaſionally that of three young ladies; the eldeſt of theſe, who was thirteen or fourteen years of age, and exceedingly pretty, ſtudied under his inſpection, and ſpoke French, Italian, and German, as fluently as her mother tongue. I was ſurprized at the virtue of her maſter; who, in all probability, owed to the meanneſs of his appearance, his being choſen for an employment, which may well be called *periculoſæ plenum opus aleæ*.

An odd cuſtom long obtained among the people of England, which formerly made a part of education all over Europe: mothers uſed to carry their children to public executions, and upon their return

home, whip them, that they might remember the example they had ſeen; and that the lectures, which they had given them on that occaſion, might leave a deeper impreſſion on their memories *.

The religious exerciſes of the Engliſh afford to children, nothing capable of ſoftening and humanizing their diſpoſition. Theſe exerciſes do not ſtrike the ſenſes: they are confined to prayers, which never end, and are interſperſed with metaphyſical or dogmatical inſtructions, that have no effect upon the mind. On the other hand, the ſervice of the church of Rome, the pictures and ſtatues, which adorn the temples, together with the variety of ceremonies, proceſſions, ſalutations, &c. are better adapted to the capacity of of young people: as they have a natural bent to imitation, they are ſeen to crowd together in Roman Catholic Countries, to dreſs ſhrines, to ſing at high maſs, and to walk in proceſſion; theſe exerciſes, nouriſh that ſimplicity, which becomes their tender years, and gives the mind a pliant turn, which preſerves the gentleneſs of their temper and their diſpoſition to gaiety.

* The Supplement to the Gloſſary of Du Cange affords us an example of many ſuch expedients, with regard to children: *Conceſſit dominus Hugo S. Chriſtoſori & Richildis uxor ejus, & Hugo puer filius Hugonis, cui tunc pater Hugo pipilos temporis vellit, & fleovit puer.* Ex Chart. ann. 4346. V. Pipilus. "Lord Hugo, the ſon of Chriſtopher and Richildis his wife, and the boy Hugo, ſon of Hugo, whoſe father Hugo pulled his cheeks, and the boy cried." It was cuſtomary to beat children with the ſame intention. A young page or cupbearer, whoſe ears were boxed in this manner, that he might remember having been admitted as a witneſs to a certain deed, complained of the hardneſs of the blow, *cum requireret cur ſibi H. permaximum colaphum dediſſet, reſpondit ille: quia tu junior me es, & multo vives tempore & eris teſtis hujus rationis, cum res popoſcerit.* Hiſt. ex Chart. 1034. V. Alapa. "When he aſked why H. gave him ſo hard a box, the other made anſwer: Becauſe you being younger than I, and likely to live a long time, will witneſs this affair, when required." The box, which it is cuſtomary for a biſhop to give a child, when he confirms, is, doubtleſs, nothing more than an extenſion of this ancient cuſtom.

If in England we obſerve the influence of religion on grown perſons, we ſhall ſee a new ſource of melancholy. Let us confine ourſelves to the inhabitants of country towns and villages; that is to ſay, to that part of the nation, which has moſt religion; and we ſhall find that the Jewiſh rigour, with which they are obliged to keep the ſabbath, the only holiday they have, is an abſolute ſpecific to nouriſh their gloomy temper. This rigid obſervance of the Sabbath is founded upon the many laws, which the Puritans extorted from queen Elizabeth: laws, which James the Firſt and Charles the Firſt in vain undertook to ſoften, by the ordinances, which allowed all ſorts of lawful pleaſures and amuſements after divine ſervice*. Theſe ordinances were amongſt the grievances, which the Puritans complained of to that prince; and for which they cenſured the miniſters of the Church of England, who had adopted, and publiſhed them in in their churches. The Long Parliament even went ſo far as to cauſe the above ordinances to be burned by the hands of the common hangman. Pious frauds, a thing which the Reformers ſo greatly abhorred in the Romiſh clergy, have ſince been uſed by themſelves, in favour of the manner of keeping the Sabbath. Near Neot, on the eaſtern ſide of the county of Cornwall, is to be ſeen, a circle of miſhapen ſtones, fixed deep in the earth, and placed there long ſince by human art. It has been aſſerted by the clergy, and the country-people are credulous enough to believe it, that theſe ſtones were ſo many men, thus metamorphoſed, whilſt they were playing at tennis on a Sabbath-day, in open violation of the laws of religion†.

* In the Engliſh cathedrals, this ſervice is chaunted: but how! It is a heavy, ſad, and languiſhing ſort of pſalmody, reſembling that of our Carmelite nuns.

† The moſt conſiderable monument of this ſort to be ſeen in

On

On this day, the theatres and all houſes of entertainment are ſhut; all ſorts of gaming and dancing are forbid: people are neither allowed to ſing at home, nor to play upon any inſtrument; the newspapers, the favourite food of national curioſity, are diſcontinued; the watermen ceaſe to ply upon the river Thames; the tolls to be paid upon coming into London are doubled; and ſome of them are even trebled, on account of a late act of parliament, which has aſſigned the product of this increaſe of the tolls to new-pave the capital; except in church-time, the inhabitants of London wait, with their arms acroſs, till ſervice is again celebrated, or till the day is over, without having any other amuſement, but to gaze in a melancholy mood at thoſe who paſs to and fro in the ſtreets. The young Engliſh officer, who followed a coach from Paris to Calais, refuſed one Sunday to ſing a ſong for us, becauſe that was not a proper day; or to ſing a pſalm, becauſe that was not a proper place.

The principal feſtivals of the year bring with them an increaſe of ſadneſs and melancholy. Except at the time of divine ſervice, Weſtminſter-abbey is ſhut to the curioſity both of natives and foreigners: that curioſity, we are told, is a ſort of worldly affection, which ſhould not be ſuffered to encroach on the pious exerciſes of a day entirely conſecrated to religion.

England is Stone-henge, or, the *Dance* of *Giants* on Saliſbury plain. It is a heap of miſhapen ſtones, piled up in a round heap, ſome of them twenty-eight feet high, upon which other ſtones of the ſame bulk lie in the form of an architrave. Inigo Jones, a famous architect, conſidered theſe ſtones as the ruins of a temple built by the Romans, and dedicated to Cœlus. He has compoſed upon this ſubject a volume in folio, publiſhed at London in 1655. Others maintain, that this building is the work of the Danes. Perhaps it is a work of the ancient Britons. We have in France the remains of an edifice of the ſame ſort near Pons-ſur-Seine.

This

This over-rigid obſervance of the Sabbath owes its origin to the Anabaptiſts. A merchant of that ſect, ſettled at Rotterdam, having one Sunday morning paid his workmen for what they had done the preceding week, was cited before the conſiſtory, ſeverely reprimanded, and excommunicated, for violating the Sabbath. Another Anabaptiſt at Amſterdam, happening to take a walk one Sunday evening, refuſed to tell Mr. Courcelles, who aſked him, what rent he paid for his houſe*.

The Engliſh, being accuſtomed to view religion in this gloomy light, are ready to give into every ſort of exceſs, which they think capable of leading them to perfection by any path whatever. There is no ſort of extravagance of this kind, that an Engliſh head is not capable of; as it will evidently appear, when I come to give an account of the ſeveral religious ſects in England.

Religion is, notwithſtanding, calculated to make men happy: "He will be gay, if he has a gay religion; he will be ſad, if his religion is of a ſad and gloomy ſort: he makes his happineſs ſubordinate to it, and refers himſelf to it in all things that intereſt him moſt: thus the miniſters of religion are reſponſible to God, not only for the future, but the preſent happineſs of the people, whoſe confidence they are poſſeſſed of: it is an offence againſt the human ſpecies to diſturb the repoſe, which they ſhould enjoy upon earth†."

The theatrical exhibitions of the Engliſh equally contribute to feed, or rather increaſe the national melancholy. The tragedies, which the people are moſt fond of, conſiſt of a number of bloody ſcenes, ſhocking to humanity; and theſe ſcenes are upon the ſtage as warm and affecting as the juſteſt action

* Sorberiana.

† Antiquity Unveiled, l. v. c. 2. No. 8.

can

can render them: an action as lively, pathetic and glowing, as that of their preachers is cold, languid and uniform. Imagination can conceive nothing ſo ſtrong as what I have ſeen of this ſort at the theatres of Covent-garden and Drury-lane, where, as I was unacquainted with the language,

Spectabam populum ludis attentius ipſis.

At the repreſentations of Macbeth, Richard the Third, King Lear, and other pieces of Shakeſpeare, which I happened to be a ſpectator of, whatever the moſt barbarous cruelty, or the moſt refined wickedneſs can poſſibly conceive, is preſented to the view. What theſe pieces want in point of regularity, is abundantly compenſated by the choice of incidents, of a nature moſt affecting, and moſt capable of harrowing up the ſoul. If, in theſe pieces, love diſplays itſelf at all, it is in the moſt ſtriking effects, which filial or conjugal affection can produce. The commoneſt ſubjects of tragedies, and thoſe which have been treated in the moſt maſterly manner, are borrowed from the hiſtory of England. Moſt of their ancient kings act the part of fools, madmen, or ideots. The ſtage has not yet ventured to repreſent the hiſtory of Charles the Firſt*. Yet how admirable a ſubject for a tragedy is furniſhed by the various events, which befel this unfortunate prince, conſidered as a king, a father, and a huſband†!

In one of theſe tragedies, which I ſaw repreſented, a king dethroned, and condemned by a tyrant to die, with his wife and children, requeſts that tyrant to order him inſtantly to be conducted to execution, with his family, as the greateſt favour he could grant him. That favour is refuſed him: in the moment,

* Here the author is miſtaken; the tragedy of Charles I. written by Mr. Havard, was repreſented upon the ſtage. T.

† The ſecret admiration the bulk of the nation has for Cromwell, ſeems to have deprived dramatic poets of theſe ſubjects.

which is to ſeparate them for ever, the king flies into the arms of the queen, who embraces her royal conſort, and they continue claſping each other in tranport, which excites in the whole audience the ſtrongeſt emotions, expreſſed by a general applauſe. Upon ſeeing this ſcene, and many others equally affecting, a meer recital of which would rather have raiſed my laughter than pity, I could not help feeling the general emotion, nor avoid ſhedding tears. The earl of Cheſterfield, to whom I gave an account of the impreſſion, which theſe ſcenes made upon me, aſſured me, that it was owing to my ignorance of the Engliſh language; and that it would have been totally deſtroyed, if I had underſtood all the ſtupidity connected with thoſe incidents. It muſt be acknowledged, that a long reſidence in France, at the court of the late regent, and a perfect acquaintance with all our beſt writers, inſpired this nobleman with a diſlike for many things which the Engliſh

Ad cœlum tollunt rumore ſecundo.

The Engliſh ſtage has certain cuſtoms, which greatly hurt a Frenchman, who is not uſed to them. The laſt ſcene of every act is conſtantly interrupted, and ſometimes in the moſt intereſting part, by the tinkling of a little bell, which apprizes the muſic to be ready to play in the interval between the acts. The actreſſes, who perform the principal characters, drag long trains after them, which have four corners, like a carpet, the breadth proportioned to the importance of the character; and they are followed by a little boy, in quality of a train-bearer, who is as inſeparable from them as the ſhadow from the body. This page, who is ſprucely dreſſed, and muffled up in a livery, made to ſuit his ſtature within two or three inches, keeps his eye conſtantly fixed upon the train of the princeſs; ſets it to rights,

when it is ever ſo little ruffled or diſordered; and is ſeen to run after it with all his might, when a violent emotion makes the princeſs hurry from one ſide of the ſtage to the other: this he does with all the phlegm and ſerioufneſs natural to the Engliſh. In the abovementioned ſcene between the king and queen, who can be affected to ſo high a degree as not to take notice of the attention of the little page, to repair the diſorder, which the queen's train conſtantly receives, as ſhe ſtirs and moves with impaſſioned attitudes in the arms of the afflicted monarch?

Scenes of battery and carnage are generally preceded by laying a large thick carpet upon the ſtage, to repreſent the field of battle, and which is afterwards carried off with the dead bodies, to leave the trap-doors at liberty for the ghoſts, who appear again upon the ſtage, in the acts immediately ſubſequent to the engagement.

If theſe irregularities were removed, or even if they were retained, perhaps the Engliſh theatre might ſucceed at Paris; at leaſt, it might pleaſe thoſe old Pariſians, who being, from their cradle, as it were, rocked and lulled to ſleep by our beſt performances, would be rouzed at the repreſentation of Shakeſpeare's tragedies: there they would go to ſhed tears, as they go to laugh at the nonſenſe exhibited at the Comic Opera, or at the Bulwarks.

How great an effect would the number of the ſlain, the maſſacres, and the apparitions of perſons killed in the courſe of the piece, have upon ſpectators of this ſort! In the laſt act of Richard the Third, a crowd of princes and princeſſes, poiſoned, aſſaſſinated, ſtabbed, riſe from out of the earth, to curſe the tyrant, who is aſleep in his tent: thoſe that had been deſtroyed by the ſword, ſtand in a fixed, immoveable attitude, their viſages pale, with their eyes

cloſed, their ſhirts and their clothes beſmeared with blood iſſuing from their wounds; they then deliver themſelves in a ſad and diſmal tone of voice, which produces quite a different effect upon the ſpectators from what I thought it would, when I read Engliſh plays in tranſlations: the effect I mean is the φόβος καὶ ἔλεος, the fear and pity of the Greeks.

It is eaſy to gueſs what effect this muſt have upon the imaginations of the Engliſh. They are very ready to carry their children to the playhouſe; alledging the ſame reaſons for this practice, that are elſewhere given for ſending young perſons to public executions. The impreſſion they make upon the young people is ſo lively and durable, that, notwithſtanding they have none of thoſe prejudices, which are kept up in Roman Catholic countries by the belief of purgatory, and ſeveral ſtories relative to that article, there are few nations, which, without believing in apparitions in theory, are really more afraid of them in practice than the Engliſh.

My landlord's eldeſt ſon, a boy about nine or ten years of age, ſhewed me how much he was ſwayed by apprehenſions, in two or three nocturnal ſcenes, which produced a diſturbance that might have alarmed the whole neighbourhood. He leaped out of bed, and, after beating the wainſcot with his head and feet, at the ſame time roaring like one poſſeſſed, he rolled about upon the ground in dreadful convulſions, which made us deſpair of his life: he thought he was haunted by all the ghoſts in the tragedy of Richard the Third, and by all the dead bodies in the churchyards of London.

The Engliſh comedy is very unable to obliterate or weaken the impreſſions of melancholy, which tragedy leaves behind it: nay, it ſometimes leaves

new

new ones, by the nocturnal ſcenes, which it frequently exhibits. The Engliſh are in general as indifferent with regard to comedy, as they are paſſionate admirers of tragedy: they are very ready to give up the ſuperiority of the ſock to other nations, upon condition of being allowed to have a ſuperior talent for the buſkin.

Their beſt comedies conſiſt of complicated intrigues, which put the minds of thoſe, who endeavour to attend and unravel them, to the torture. The general groundwork of theſe intrigues is that diſguiſe of characters, which the Italians call *ſotto nome*, upon which the Spaniſh comedies and our antient French plays are likewiſe founded. Beſides, the Engliſh pay but little regard to the unity of action and place; and their pieces are the more ſtriking, the greater number of characters they contain.

Scarce do the beſt compoſitions of that nation afford any relief againſt melancholy and dejection. The Spectator, written by Steele and Addiſon, is the maſter-piece of the Engliſh in the lively and facetious ſtile; but all the humour of this work lies in the form under which it delivers ſome leſſons of morality*.

The works of Dr. Swift are political and theological tracts, varniſhed over with a ſatire rather pungent than delicate, where it would be in vain to look for the refined raillery, or the delicacy and eaſe, of Paſchal's Provincial Letters. Gulliver's Travels is that author's maſter-piece; but this work has gained greatly by paſſing through the hands of our abbé Des Fontaines. In this ſpecies of compoſition,

* *Ut pueris abſynthia tetra medentes*
Cum dare conantur, prius oras pocula circum
Contingunt mellis dulci flavoque liquore.

and in all thoſe which require an unaffected gaiety of ſtile, it would be in vain for England to diſpute the palm with Italy and France;

Ne forcons point notre talent,
Nous ne ferions rien avec grace.
Let us not ſtrive our bent to force in vain,
Elſe void of grace muſt be each poet's ſtrain.

Hence the Engliſh, both writers and readers, prefer the ſentimental to the ludicrous ſtile. How ſpacious a field has the latter to diſplay itſelf in thoſe numerous pamphlets, with which London is every day over-run by contending parties, who ſhould naturally endeavour to turn each other into ridicule? And yet the ſoureſt bile, the bittereſt gall, and the moſt mortifying truths, ſupply the place of that raillery and gaiety, which Horace, that great judge of works of taſte, required in this ſpecies of compoſition: *ridiculum acri, &c.* However, this is what the Engliſh call humour, a term borrowed from the French word *belle humeur*.

I ſhall not here repeat what I have already ſaid concerning the converſation of the Engliſh: they are generally in a ſerious ſtrain. I never ſaw more than one ſcene of gaiety in England, which was the more remarkable as it was quite miſplaced; this was the ſecond day of lord Byron's trial at Weſtminſter-hall. A well-dreſſed man was very inconveniently ſeated upon the higheſt ſtep of that part of the amphitheatre, where I happened to be placed. An hour before the peers entered, this man roſe, and began to prate to every body that ſtood near him: he ſpoke very loud, and his words were accompanied and enforced by the geſtures of a mountebank: they were interrupted by the audience with loud peals of laughter, in which he himſelf joined; and this laſted till the peers entered. I thought he was

in

in liquor; but a gentleman told me he was a member of the houſe of commons, of a very facetious diſpoſition, and that he ſometimes exhibited ſcenes of the ſame droll nature in the ſenate-houſe.

Setting aſide a few exceptions, which confirm the general rule, as they are in but a very ſmall number, melancholy prevails in London in every family, in circles, in aſſemblies, at public and private entertainments; ſo that the Engliſh nation, which ſees verified in itſelf the *populum late regem* of Virgil, offers to the eyes of ſtrangers only *populum late triſtem*.

The merry meetings even of the lower ſort of people are daſhed with this gloom. On the 26th of April, the butchers boys celebrated the anniverſary of the duke of Cumberland's birth-day. Being about fifty in number, they, in uniforms, that is to ſay, in caps and white aprons, paraded the ſtreets of London by break of day, having each a great marrow-bone in his hand, with which they beat time upon a large cleaver: this produced a ſort of muſic as ſharp as diſſonant. The air of thoſe, who played in this manner, being as ſavage as their muſic, made them appear like a company of hangmen marching in ceremony to ſome great execution.

The firſt of May is a general holiday for milk-women, and chimney-ſweepers. The former, attended by a perſon wrapped up in a great pannier, conſiſting of ſeveral rows of flowers and pot-herbs, ramble about the ſtreets, and go amongſt their cuſtomers, dancing and aſking the preſents generally made upon this occaſion. The pannier of the milk-women is covered with pieces of plate, ranged in rows as in a buffet, and theſe moving machines hide every part but the feet of thoſe who carry them. The chimney-ſweepers are diſguiſed in a more ridiculous manner; their faces are whitened with

meal, their heads covered with high periwigs powdered as white as ſnow, and their cloaths bedawbed with paper-lace; and yet though dreſſed in this droll manner, their air is nearly as ſerious as that of undertakers at a funeral.

This is the only ſort of maſquerade at preſent ſuffered in England. At the time of the earthquake at Liſbon the biſhops demanded in a body, and obtained from the king, a total abolition of maſks at all rejoicings, whether public or private.

Even love itſelf, as I have been aſſured, is treated throughout the dominions of the king of Great-Britain, as the moſt ſerious of all concerns, as a matter attended with the moſt important conſequences, and as an affair which leads every day, on one ſide or other, to marriages every way unſuitable and imprudent.

The Engliſh themſelves make a jeſt of the ſolemn ſerioufneſs, which characteriſes their courtſhip. I ſaw them crowding to a printſeller's in Cheapſide, to purchaſe two prints of three different colours. They repreſented a lover and his miſtreſs, both yawning, in a manner ſo natural, that the ſight of them cauſed the ſame convulſion in beholders. At the bottom of each of theſe prints was written, —*heigh! ho!*

I am not ignorant, that, in all countries, in proportion to the ſize of their towns, the inhabitants are prevented, by intereſt, by vanity, by indolence, by ſatiety, and by the continual claſhing of a thouſand inferior paſſions; are prevented, I ſay, from having that free and eaſy chearfulneſs of temper, which is to be found in country places, under a mild and moderate government:

Extrema per illos
Lætitia excedens terris veſtigia fixit.

But

But in England the peaſant, well-fed, well-lodged, and at his eaſe, has as ſerious and melancholy an air, as thoſe wretched hinds in other countries, who are perſecuted and harraſſed by thouſands, whoſe buſineſs it is, and who are even ſworn, to defend and protect them.

From this gloomy diſpoſition reſult ſeveral effects, the combination of which is the baſis of the Engliſh character.

APTITUDE OF THE ENGLISH FOR THE SCIENCES.

THERE are ſome happy characters amongſt the Engliſh, which verify what Plutarch ſays after Ariſtotle, That none but great geniuſſes are ſubject to melancholy*.

Hence ariſes the aptitude of the Engliſh for the ſciences, the depth of which requires that the whole ſoul ſhould concenter, and, as it were, bury itſelf in them. This is the ſpring of thoſe diſcoveries which are the reſult of the moſt vigorous efforts of the mind. The labours, which lead to theſe diſcoveries, were, in all ages, the lot of melancholy tempers. The learned Meziriac was himſelf aſtoniſhed how he could go through his work upon Diophantes, and carry it to perfection: he declared, he ſhould never have finiſhed it, had it not been for a melancholy temper, and a kind of obſtinacy ariſing from a quartan ague, with which he had been long afflicted†.

England has maintained the reputation for the abſtruſe ſciences, which it had formerly for the philoſophy and theology of the ſchools, when the greateſt geniuſes were entirely engroſſed by thoſe ſtudies. Thoſe which have eſtabliſhed themſelves upon their ruin, are infinitely indebted to the plans, the diſco-

* Plut. Life of Lyſander, in the beginning.
† His life by Peliſſon, in the Hiſt. of the French Acad.

veries,

veries, of Bacon, Gilbert, Boyle, Newton, Halley, &c. &c. In inveſtigations concerning antiquity, what obligations do we not owe to Uſher, Selden, Marſham, and the accurate and laborious lucubrations of the learned men, who have raiſed from their ruins Palmyra, Athens, with the monuments of Dioclesian at Spalatro? England preſents us with many living examples of the perſeverance of its inhabitants in their attachment to ſuch objects as have once engaged their attention.

Dr. Aſkew, ſon to an eminent phyſician of Newcaſtle, conceived a paſſion for the Greek language, of which he ſoon made himſelf maſter. Whilſt a very young man he went over to Paris, where the Academy of Inſcriptions and belles Lettres made him an honorary member; and then he repaired to Greece. After having traverſed that country, to improve himſelf by foreign travels, he ſtudied the monuments of antiquity, and diſcovered ſeveral, which had eſcaped the obſervation of antiquaries: he made ſome ſtay at Athens, and there learned the vulgar Greek. Inquiring into the ſtate of literature in that city, he found it in a deplorable condition; all that was taught in the ſchools being only ſome portions of their liturgies, and other writings of that kind; upon which he talked to them of their anceſtors, of the great reputation which they had acquired in arms and literature, of the writings which had continued it; in a word, of the copiouſneſs, the beauty and the energy of the language in which theſe writings have been tranſmitted to poſterity. He therefore recommended it to the principal ſchool-maſter in the place to inſtruct the youth under his care in ſome of the old claſſic writers: which advice was followed; and, as we have ſince heard, with very good ſucceſs.

This

This gentleman enjoys, in his own country, the fruits of his care and aſſiduity, in concert with one of the fineſt women in London; he has a library, well choſen and well furniſhed, and enriched with a large collection of antiquities, which he brought home with him; his countrymen are greatly pleaſed with his zeal for the Greek language and nation, a zeal, which in other kingdoms might perhaps render the man, who preſumed to make it his boaſt, the object of laſting ridicule.

A zeal no leſs ardent and extraordinary ſent M. Wortley Montague to Egypt. This gentleman is ſon to the celebrated lady of the ſame name, who introduced the cuſtom of inoculating for the ſmall-pox into Europe. He was born at Conſtantinople, whilſt his father was ambaſſador at that capital, was heir to the great eſtate of the family, and to all the vivacity of character, which ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed his mother; being ſent to France under the care of a governor of great learning, he paſſed the beſt part of his youthful days at Troyes, deeply immerſed in the ſtudy of the dead languages, and the ſeveral branches of ſcience to which they are the key. Upon his return to England, he married below himſelf, and this match, which he could not be diſſuaded from, induced his father to diſinherit him, and leave his whole fortune to a ſiſter, who married the celebrated earl of Bute.

Reduced to a penſion, juſt ſufficient for his ſupport, he had recourſe to literature, to comfort him in his misfortunes, dedicating great part of his time to the moſt profound and abſtruſe ſpeculations. In this retreat he carefully peruſed the Biſhop of Clogher's Journal to Grand Cairo; in which that learned prelate produces certain inſcriptions of great antiquity, which

which are ſtill to be ſeen upon a huge rock at the foot of Mount Sinai. Several travellers have given explanations of theſe; but they all differ widely, and from their variation, it is reaſonable to infer, that they never were rightly explained.

Mr. Mountague was hence inſpired with a moſt ardent deſire to explain them in ſuch a manner as to ſuperſede any new attempt: for this purpoſe he prepared himſelf, by ſtudying and comparing thoſe languages, which might lead him to that explanation; and ſcarce was the peace concluded, but he embarked aboard a veſſel bound to Egypt, where he at preſent enjoys the full gratification of his curioſity. The public will reap the fruits of this learned excurſion, either by receiving the true explanation of the inſcriptions of Mount Sinai, or will ceaſe to give itſelf any trouble about the matter, if Mr. Montague ſhould declare them incapable of being decyphered *.

The diſpoſition and turn of mind, which excites men to ſuch enterprizes, and inſpires them with the courage requiſite for carrying them into execution, is preciſely the ſort of character required by antient legiſlators in ſtateſmen. It is the *atrox animus*, which the ſupercilious philoſophy of the Stoics, ever attentive to the adminiſtration of public affairs, endeavoured to inſtil into its followers. Horace quitted his character in a frolic, to adopt that rigid philoſophy, when he ſaid,

Nunc agilis fio & merſor civilibus undis,

* Mr. Mountague has already given an account of theſe inſcriptions in *The Philoſophical Tranſactions*, Vol. LVI. N° VIII. See alſo *The Bp. of Clogher's Journal to Grand Cairo.* T.

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The whole Engliſh nation adopts it by conſtitution; that is, with all the ardour that melancholy inſpires for thoſe objects upon which it happens to be concentered. This occaſions the great ſale of thoſe news-papers, which are publiſhed daily, and which the generality of the Engliſh ſpend a conſiderable time in reading: hence ariſe thoſe revolutions, which have ſo often changed the government of England. Neighbouring countries have likewiſe had their revolutions, but leſs frequently: they have been trifles, in compariſon of the diſturbances in England.

In the preſent ſtate of that kingdom, public affairs are become the concern of every Engliſhman: each citizen is a politician. The caſe was quite different in the reigns of Henry the Eighth, and queen Elizabeth: the royal authority then concentering the whole power, and, like the divine agency, not diſcovering itſelf otherwiſe than by its effects, left the citizen no other merit but that of obedience and ſubmiſſion. The popularity affected by queen Elizabeth at the beginning of her reign, gave occaſion to the inquiries of certain politicians: but that princeſs ſoon aſſumed the tone of Paulus Emilius*, "to thoſe ſoldiers, who encroached upon the office of captain-general, and who preſumed to ſay, that he ought to have done ſuch and ſuch things, which he had omitted. The general ſeverely reprimanded them for this liberty, and forbid them to pry curiouſly into matters which did not concern them, but only to think of keeping themſelves in readineſs, and their arms in good condition, and to uſe their ſwords like Romans, whenever he ſhould give them an opportunity. And, to increaſe their vigilance, he ordered that thoſe who were to mount guard ſhould watch without javelins, that they might be the

* Life of Paulus Emilius, by Plutarch.

more

more careful and attentive to reſiſt the enemy, in caſe of a ſudden attack."

Notwithſtanding this, England had been, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, already divided between two parties *, which cruſhed each other ſucceſſively in the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth; and which, though ever the ſame under different names and forms, afterwards deprived the unfortunate Charles the Firſt of his life and crown, and hurried James the Second into all the wrong meaſures, which brought about the laſt revolution.

Before theſe revolutions, fanaticiſm was fed by religious controverſies, the firſt ſeeds of which were ſowed by Wickliffe, in the very boſom of England: diſputes, which afterwards cauſing much contention in political affairs, introduced fanaticiſm into the ſtate, which had been before confined to the ſanctuary †. The genius, which animated the Engliſh divines, who wrote upon juſtification in the reign of Henry the Eighth and his ſon Edward, afterwards excited the Vanes, the Sandys, the Seldens, &c. when, ſapping the foundations of the throne, in the reign of Charles the Firſt, they inſenſibly paved the road, which led Cromwell to the ſupreme power. The laſt of theſe geniuſes was Newton, who aſſigned laws to the ſyſtem of the univerſe: the firſt was Duns Scotus, who diſputed ſo warmly upon a *parte rei:* it was the ſame ſort of ſpirit, applied with the

* They were, in an underhand manner, excited and ſpurred on by a treacherous miniſter, whoſe name was Thomas Cromwell.

† Thoſe enervate religion who make a change in it; and they take from it a certain degree of importance, which alone is capable of keeping the lower ſort of people in awe. They have a kind of reſtleſſneſs at the bottom of their hearts, which breaks looſe, if that neceſſary bridle be removed; and when once they are left to their own diſcretion with regard to religion, they no longer keep within bounds. *Boſſuet, Funer. Orat. on the Q. of England.*

ſame

ſame degree of attachment, to objects that had no other difference but that which ſprung from times and circumſtances *.

NATIONAL PRIDE.

How far Melancholy may be productive of it. Effects of this Pride, with regard to England.

THE impetuoſity, and the perſeverance, with which melancholy dwells upon ſuch objects as intereſt and engage it, are the principles, which induce the Engliſh to concern themſelves ſo much about public affairs. Each citizen identifying himſelf with the government, muſt of neceſſity extend to himſelf the high idea which he has of the nation: he triumphs in its victories; he is afflicted by its calamities: he exhauſts himſelf in projects to promote its ſucceſſes, to ſecond its advantages, and to repair its loſſes: he may be compared to the fly in the fable, which, when it approaches the horſes, "Thinks to animate them by its humming, ſtings one, then another, and imagines every moment that it makes the carriage go forward; it ſits upon

* It is this difference, which explains the thought of an Engliſh poem, entitled *The Church-yard*:

How many Cromwells buried here!

That is to ſay, what a number of perſons repoſe here, unknown and obſcure, who would have been ſo many Cromwells, if they had been placed in the ſame ſituation and circumſtances, which favoured that uſurper! A thought illuſtrated by that multitude of men, whom the troubles of thoſe times raiſed from amongſt the dregs of the people to the higheſt dignities in the nation, in which they did not appear to be out of their ſphere. All ſtates, as an Engliſhman once ſaid to me, would in every age, undergo revolutions of the ſame ſort, if Providence did not take care to produce but few Cromwells. Venal ſouls, fanatical heads, ambitious men ſold to iniquity, all the inſtruments of tyranny, are of every age and every country: they reſemble wheels in proper order, which, to be ſet a going, want nothing but the grand ſpring.

the

the pole, and upon the coachman's noſe: and no ſooner does it ſee the carriage driven on, and the people continuing their journey, but it arrogates the glory of the whole movement to itſelf."

Hence that national pride, which immortalized him, who firſt uſed the expreſſion, *the majeſty of the people of England:* a pride, from which the ſplendor of the moſt renowned ſtates of antiquity took its riſe: a pride, which, being the firſt foundation of public ſtrength, and multiplying it *ad infinitum*, ſubdivides, and, in ſome meaſure, diſtributes itſelf to every citizen: a pride, that produced thoſe wonderful examples of patriotiſm, which make ſo ſhining a figure in ancient ſtory: in fine, a pride, which perhaps is the only patriotiſm, that human nature is capable of attaining:

Totam diffuſa per artus
Mens agitat molem ac magno ſe corpore miſcet.

Even the fair ſex has its ſhare of this pride in England, and it diſcovers itſelf with all the violence which melancholy gives to the affections and paſſions. The revolution, which ſubverted the throne of Charles the Firſt, furniſhes many examples of this ſort, which Butler makes mention of in his Hudibras.

It is an Antichriſtian opera,
Much us'd in midnight times of popery,
Of running after ſelf-inventions
Of wicked and profane intentions,
To ſcandalize that ſex, for ſcolding,
To whom the ſex are ſo beholding.
Women who were our firſt apoſtles,
Without whoſe aid we had been loſt elſe;
Women that left no ſtone unturn'd,
In which the cauſe might be concern'd,
Brought in their childrens ſpoons and whiſtles,
To purchaſe ſwords, carbines, and piſtols:

Their

Their huſbands, cullies, and ſweethearts,
To take the ſaints and churches parts,
Drew ſeveral gifted brethren in,
That for the biſhops would have been,
And fix'd them conſtant to the party
With motives powerful and hearty;
Their huſbands robb'd, and made hard ſhifts
T' adminiſter unto their gifts
All they could rap, and rend, and pilfer,
To ſcraps and ends of gold and ſilver;
Rubb'd down the teachers, tir'd and ſpent,
With holding forth for parliament;
Pamper'd and edify'd their zeal
With marrow-puddings many a meal.
. . . . . .
What have they done, or what left undone,
That might advance the cauſe at London?
March'd rank and file, with drum and enſign,
T' intrench the city for defence in?
Rais'd rampiers with their own ſoft hands
To put the enemy to ſtands;
From ladies, down to oyſter-wenches,
Labour'd like pioneers in trenches,
Fal'n to their pick-axes and tools,
And help'd the men to dig like moles!
Have not the hand-maids of the city
Choſe of their members a committee,
For raiſing of a common purſe
Out of their wages to raiſe horſe?
And do they not as triers ſit,
To judge what officers are fit *?

And, in another place, the ſame author ſays,
Did not a certain lady whip
Of late her huſband's own lordſhip?

* Hudibras, Part II. Canto 2.

And though a grandee of the houſe
Claw'd him with fundamental blows!
Ty'd him ſtark naked to a bed-poſt,
And firk'd his hide as if ſhe had rid poſt,
And after in the ſeſſion's court,
Where whipping's judg'd, had honour for't *.

M. Tonneley, who has obliged the world with a French tranſlation of Hudibras, ſays, in a note upon one of the paſſages in which this patriotiſm of the Engliſh ladies is ſpoken of: "The fact is true. A peer of the realm, who had been one of the judges that tried Charles the Firſt, though he did not ſign the ſentence, appeared inclined to favour the king, and upon the point of forſaking the cauſe, in which he had till then ſignalized himſelf. This conduct hurt his reputation; he was even threatened upon that account by the chiefs of the republican party. This happening to come to the ears of his wife, ſhe, to ſhew her abhorrence of her huſband's behaviour, and diſpel the ſtorm which impended over his head, with the aſſiſtance of her ſervant-maids, tied her huſband naked to one of the bed-poſts, and did not ceaſe laſhing him till he promiſed to behave better for the future, and to ask pardon of his ſuperiors. The parliament, charmed with the behaviour of this lady, returned her public thanks."

The trial of lord Byron gave me a ſtrong proof how much the Engliſh women intereſt themſelves in public affairs. The ſpacious gallery, which ſurrounded Weſtminſter-hall, was filled with all the ladies in England, moſt diſtinguiſhed for birth, rank, or fortune. They gave a conſtant and uninterrupted attention to a proceſs, which took up three days ſittings, from eight in the morning till ſix in the evening.

* Hudibras, Part II. Canto 1.

This

This attention, which continued without the leaſt ſign of laſſitude, put me in mind of the wives of the ancient Germans, from whom the Engliſh are deſcended. They were admitted to the counſels of the nation: *nec earum conſilia aſpernantur*, ſays Tacitus, *aut reſponſa negligunt: ineſſe quin etiam ſanctum aliquid & providum putant* *. "Nor did they deſpiſe their advice, ſays Tacitus; or neglect their anſwers: they even think there is ſomething holy and an extraordinary foreſight in them."

It is doubtleſs on account of this capacity of the Engliſh ladies, which is ſtill as ſtrong as ever, that women have a right to ſucceed to the crown of England: and their being thus entitled to the ſucceſſion is fully juſtified by the reigns of queen Elizabeth and queen Anne, whoſe glory reflects an honour upon the whole ſex.

This right is a grand portion of the juriſdiction common to the women of antient Gaul, which the fair ſex has retained in England. Plutarch repeats with pleaſure, in ſeveral parts of his writings, that, in the treaty by which Hannibal, in his march to Rome, obtained leave to paſs through the dominions

* Juſtus Lipſius has ſubjoined to this paſſage a note which is as void of gallantry and politeneſs, as it is miſplaced with regard to England: *Hoccine ſupererat? Heu! ipſos parùm firmâ mente qui eam quæſiverè apud amentem ſexum!*—Arioſto was of a more gallant and, doubtleſs, of a more juſt way of thinking, when he ſaid, at the opening of his 27th canto:

Molti conſigli delle donne ſono
Meglio improviſo che a penſarvi uſciti:
Che queſto è ſpeciale e proprio dono
Frà tanti e tanti loro dal ciel largiti.
Ma può mal quel degli huomini eſſer buono,
Che maturo diſcorſo non aiti.

"The ladies have often given better advice on a ſudden than with premeditation: this is a peculiar gift, amongſt many others, which heaven has beſtowed upon them. But the advice of men can ſeldom be good, when it is not accompanied by profound deliberation."

of the Gauls, it was expreſsly ſtipulated, that every diſpute between the Gauls and Carthaginians ſhould be decided upon the ſpot by Gauliſh women.

Whatever does honour to the Engliſh nation, at the ſame time, throws a luſtre upon each citizen; thoſe men, therefore, whoſe ſervices, knowledge, and abilities, have contributed to raiſe the glory of England, meet with all that reſpect, veneration, and homage, which were the greateſt rewards and chief hope of the moſt renowned heroes of antiquity *: a homage paid with a warmth unknown to thoſe men, who, being the abject ſlaves of money or worldly proſperity †, can neither form a juſt eſtimate of actions, nor a judgment of characters; which their weak eyes dare not to contemplate ſteadily.

This ardour, which warmed Rome and Greece, is to be found in England, and muſt neceſſarily produce the ſame fruits in that kingdom. The Britiſh Muſeum, the palaces of great noblemen, the cabinets of the curious, the houſes of citizens, thoſe dark and ſolitary grottos which people of fortune conſecrate to melancholy in their country retirements, the taverns and inns, the houſes where people meet for public diverſions, are all adorned with figures painted or engraved, and with buſts of all ſizes, made of all ſorts of materials, of Bacon, Shakeſpeare, Milton, Locke, Addiſon, Newton, and even Cromwell himſelf: I could not with-

* Of all thoſe who have preſumed to ſee farther than the vulgar, Newton is perhaps the only one who, in the courſe of a long life, obtained from his country the rewards due to his merit and his labours. All England had a veneration for him, the effect of which he enjoyed without moleſtation or interruption.

† People, ſaid D'Aubigné, in his Appendix to the firſt two volumes of his Hiſtory, are more eager for bills during their lives, than epitaphs after their death.

out

out aſtoniſhment ſee a fine buſt of the latter fill a diſtinguiſhed place in the Britiſh Muſeum.

It is an odd effect of chance, that, in all the monuments which repreſent Cromwell, he ſhould have a ſtriking reſemblance to the portraits of our Lewis the eleventh. Phyſiognomiſts with pleaſure behold a likeneſs in the countenances of two perſons, who reſembled each other in ſo many other reſpects. I muſt, at the ſame time, obſerve, that all the portraits of Lewis the eleventh are taken from his ſtatue ſet up at the beginning of the laſt century in the church of Notre Dame de Clery. Now the artiſt that carved this ſtatue ſeems to have done it from his own fancy, in the ſame manner as he would have executed that of Clovis or Charlemagne. There was in the church of Pleſſis-les-Tours a picture of Lewis the eleventh: the reſemblance of which is the leſs doubtful, as it was executed immediately under the eye of that prince, in which he cauſed himſelf to be repreſented kneeling at the foot of Notre Dame de Clery: the piece is by a good hand, and in the old Flemiſh taſte. This portrait, which does not much flatter the original, gives him a mean aſpect, and the ignoble air of a knaviſh peaſant, whoſe roguery is detected; the air of La Fontaine's clown proſtrate at the feet of his lord, whom he had offended. The artiſt, not finding in the picture the air of a prince, *dignumque numiſmate vultum*, has given his ſtatue that face, with which he is repreſented in pictures ſold in print-ſhops, and by which he bears a likeneſs to Cromwell.

In the library of lord Morton, late preſident of the royal ſociety, the ſeveral faculties and branches of ſcience, which are elſewhere diſtinguiſhed by ſimple inſcriptions, are repreſented by a baſſo-re-

relievo in painting, which unites in ſeveral groupes the moſt eminent men in each faculty, both amongſt the antients and moderns: the centre of each baſſo-relievo preſents the picture of ſome Engliſhman, who appears to hold the firſt rank in that peculiar branch of ſcience. The hint of theſe ſeveral ornaments ſeems to have been ſuggeſted by the tombs of the antients.

Milton is there at the head of the epic poets; round him ſtand, according to their ſeveral degrees of merit, Homer, Virgil, Taſſo, Camoens, Boileau, &c. at the head of the dramatic poets is Shakeſpeare, ſurrounded by Sophocles, Euripides, Terence, Lopez de Vega, Corneille, Racine, Moliere: the moral writers are headed by Tillotſon, who has in his retinue, Confucius, St. John Chryſoſtom, St. Jerome, Boſſuet, Nicole, Fenelon, Bourdaloue: at the head of the hiſtorians is Buchanan, attended by Thucydides, Xenophon, Polybius, Cæſar, Thuanus, Machiavel: the heroes of experimental philoſophy are Paſchal, Galileo, Toricelli, headed by Boyle: Newton is the hero of the nobler ſciences; he is accompanied by Pythagoras, Archimedes, Deſcartes, Kepler, Gaſſendi, Huygens, &c. The heads of all theſe illuſtrious perſonages, both Engliſh and foreigners, are copied from their pictures with a ſervile exactneſs, which may be known at the firſt glance.

The hall in which the Royal Society meets is adorned with the pictures of Gaſſendi, the famous philoſopher Hobbes, Sir Chriſtopher Wren, and the buſt of Sir Iſaac Newton, with that of king Charles the Second, in whoſe reign the ſociety was eſtabliſhed. I asked, why the portrait of Deſcartes was not in this collection? The reaſon aſſigned by thoſe I inquired of was, that theſe buſts and pictures were preſents given at different times by members of the ſociety,

ciety, which would have received with equal gratitude that of the French philoſopher, and ſet it in as honourable a place.

One of the moſt remarkable monuments of this kind is that, which the celebrated Mr. Garrick lately erected to the memory of Shakeſpeare, at Hampton. Upon a ſmall eminence formed by art, which commands a proſpect of the banks of the Thames, and is ſeparated from the garden by a long row of laurels and ever-greens, riſes a little temple, built with as much ſolidity as taſte, of Portland-ſtone. It is of a round form, terminated by a cupola, the diameter twenty-one feet: the door is adorned with a front, which jutts out, and is ſupported, in the antique manner, by two pillars. This temple is decorated with a ſtatue of Shakeſpeare as large as the life, executed by Roubilliac in fine Carrara marble. The father of Engliſh tragedy is repreſented with a pen in his hand, ſeeming to have juſt conceived one of thoſe ſublime ideas, to which he owes his reputation. This ſtatue, which is in itſelf very fine, and rendered ſtill more ſo by the intention of him who cauſed it to be erected, is the only ornament within the temple, the place where Mr. Garrick and his ſelect friends aſſemble. The furniture conſiſts only of a dozen of chairs, made after the Engliſh faſhion, one of which, higher and more adorned than the reſt, is intended for the preſident.

Mr. Garrick does the honours of this monument in a manner, which inhances his merit in erecting it: "I owe every thing, ſays he, to Shakeſpeare: *ſi vivo & valeo, ſuum eſt:* this is but a weak teſtimony of a gratitude which knows no bounds."

This celebrated perſon is ſaid to have been appointed by an Engliſh nobleman guardian to his only ſon. By this choice, and this monument of his gratitude to Shakeſpeare, Mr. Garrick may vie with thoſe players of ancient Greece, who were not excluded, by their profeſſion, from places that required the greateſt abilities and the ſtricteſt probity. Demoſthenes has preſerved the memory of a noble action, of which Mr. Garrick would have been capable under the ſame circumſtances: I ſhall here lay it before the reader, juſt as it is related by the Greek orator: it has eſcaped M. Rollin, and other modern authors who have publiſhed compilations of antient hiſtory.

" After the taking of Olynthus, Philip celebrated the Olympic games with a magnificence, which drew all the companies of comedians that were ſcattered up and down the ſeveral cities of Greece. At a feaſt, which Philip gave them and in which he diſtributed crowns to thoſe who moſt eminently diſtinguiſhed themſelves, he asked a celebrated comedian, κωμικὸς ὑποκριτὴς, whoſe name was Satyrus, why he alone of all the comedians asked nothing, and ſeemed to deſire no favour? Have you, added the prince, any reaſon to doubt of my munificence, or to apprehend a refuſal? I have no occaſion, anſwered Satyrus, for any thing you give my companions: but with regard to what I really want, though it be in your power, and though you could very eaſily grant it me, I am inclined to think you will refuſe it. Refuſe you? replied Philip with vivacity: ſpeak, and depend upon obtaining whatever you ask. I had at Pidna, ſaid Satyrus, a hoſt and a friend, who was treacherouſly aſſaſſinated; to ſecure his daughters from the attempts of his enemies, his family ſent them to Olynthus, where it was thought they

they would be in the greateſt ſafety. They are at preſent marriageable, and the taking of Olynthus has put them into your power. To you I apply for them, and beg you would give orders to have them conſigned to my care. In caſe you grant my requeſt, I'll tell you the uſe I purpoſe to make of your favour; I intend to portion off the daughters, to procure them huſbands, and to treat them in a manner worthy of myſelf, and of their father, who was my friend. This diſcourſe, being heard by the whole company, was followed by ſo general and loud applauſe, that Philip, being moved and affected by it, granted the comedian his requeſt in favour of his friend's daughters, though that friend had been one of the aſſaſſins of Alexander, brother to this prince *."

A Comedian capable of ſo noble an action may be reckoned amongſt the worthieſt and moſt deſerving citizens. Mr. Garrick is looked upon in this light by his countrymen; at the ſame time that they conſider him as the greateſt actor that ever appeared on the Engliſh ſtage. Thus England may, in every reſpect, revive in his favour, the panegyric made upon a perſon of his profeſſion, in an antient inſcription found at Milan, and preſerved by Gruter: *Splendidiſſimum urbis ornamentum, & ſui temporis primum.* "The moſt ſhining ornament of the city, and the chief ornament of his age."

I have already ſpoken of the ſtatues of Sir Thomas Greſham and Sir John Barnard, erected as ornaments to the Royal-Exchange. The company of apothecaries has likewiſe erected one to Sir Hans Sloane, in the midſt of the garden which he left them at Chelſea. The church-yard of that † village is adorned

* Demoſth. Orat. de falſâ legatione.

† The celebrated Sir Thomas More was buried here.

with

with a funeral monument conſecrated to the memory of the ſame knight, who was buried in this place. This monument is a lantern, under which we ſee a great urn of an elegant form: round this urn twine, in beautiful windings, two ſerpents, emblems of the knight's profeſſion.

It happens unluckily, with regard to the three ſtatues which I have been ſpeaking of, that the ſculptors, who were but indifferent artiſts, thought themſelves obliged to repreſent them in the habit of ceremony worn by the knights-bannerets. This habit is a long and wide gaberdine, overcharged with buttons, button-holes, lace and fringe: and is as hard to repreſent by ſculpture in the whole as in particular parts. The drapery of the kings and queens, whoſe ſtatues adorn the inſide of the Royal-Exchange, is in no better taſte.

I have ſeen, in the ſculptor's work-yard, who has undertaken to execute general Wolfe's monument (Mr. Wilton), the ſtatue which the city of Cork propoſes to erect in honour of the celebrated Mr. Pitt. Part of the buſt of this ſtatue is dreſſed in one of our modern habits: the remainder of the figure is wrapped up in a great mantle in the Greek taſte: it is in the attitude of an orator, who is ſpeaking in public, with a roll of paper in his left hand.

I ſaw at another ſculptor's (Mr. Moore, a Dutchman) a ſtatue of Mr. Beckford, juſt ſketched out. He himſelf had ordered it to be made, at his own expence. This ſtatue was entirely dreſſed according to the Roman faſhion, and its whole attitude marked the moſt violent indignation at the ſight of a bill, which he holds out unfolded in his left hand. Mr. Beckford was one of the moſt animated and vehement orators in the houſe of commons

mons againſt the laſt peace concluded with France and Spain.

The country-ſeats, in which the Engliſh noblemen diſplay all their magnificence, and the courts and halls of the colleges, are adorned with ornaments of the ſame ſort: a houſe, built in the Roman taſte by lord Burlington at Chiſwick, is adorned in front with a ſtatue of Inigo Jones, an Engliſh architect, who flouriſhed at the beginning of the laſt century.

All the ſtatues which I have juſt ſpoken of, except the laſt, are of marble of Carrara, which at London coſts about twenty-four livres the cubic foot. Artiſts have informed me, with as much aſtoniſhment on their ſide as mine, that this marble is not allowed to be imported to France, except upon the king's account.

The kings of the houſe of Stuart, and of that of Brunſwic, have at London ſeveral ſtatues as well equeſtrian as pedeſtrian *. Thoſe of Charles the Second are the moſt beautiful. There is one of king James the Second ſtill ſtanding in the Privy-garden: the inſcription has been almoſt entirely eraſed from the pedeſtal.

I ſhall now ſpeak of the equeſtrian ſtatue of Charles the Firſt, which ſtands near Charing-croſs, from whence it looks towards Whitehall, the place where that monarch was beheaded; and I ſhall ſpeak of it only to remind the reader, that this ſtatue being in the heat of the rebellion ſold by auction, was knocked down at a low price, to a cutler, who

* In Mr. Moore's work-yard, I have ſeen a pedeſtrian ſtatue of George the Second, well executed in marble: it only waited for the laſt hand, to be removed and placed in the city of York, which had ordered and paid for it.

declared

declared by advertiſement, he would melt it down, and make handles for knives of it. He in fact cauſed knives with bronze handles to be expoſed to ſale in his ſhop, by which he ſoon made a fortune; the faction, which oppoſed the king, being all deſirous of having ſome part of his ſtatue debaſed to a knife-handle. The cutler, however, buried it under-ground; and at the time of the reſtoration of Charles the Second, gave it to that prince, who ordered it to be ſet upon a new pedeſtal in the place where it formerly ſtood. The fore-front of this pedeſtal contains the arms of England: the back of it is adorned with a large crown of thorns, which two geniuſes appear to be at great pains to ſupport *: a noble and yet ſimple emblem of the cataſtrophe of that monarch. The 30th of January is held as a ſolemn day by the church of England, and a long ſervice is appointed in memory of the martyrdom of that prince. In one of the prayers of that day, they beſeech the Almighty not "to require of the people of England the blood of the holy martyr, who meekly ſuffered all barbarous indignities, and at laſt reſiſted unto blood, and who, following the foot-ſteps of his bleſſed Maſter and Saviour, died praying for his murderers and executioners."

Weſtminſter-abbey is the grand depoſitory of the monuments erected to the glory of the nation. Though, upon conſidering theſe monuments in themſelves, as well as thoſe to whoſe honour they have been erected, we do not find them all of equal merit, the intention of them is, notwithſtanding, equally laudable. We ſee there, as in the Elyſian ſhades of Virgil, thoſe

* The wings of theſe two geniuſes have been mutilated and broke.

who,

who, by different ſorts of merit, have ſerved their country, or contributed to render it illuſtrious. Had all theſe monuments been raiſed by a public decree, at the expence of the nation, and not by the family or friends of each perſonage, England might, in this reſpect, vie with the moſt renowned republics of antiquity. The whole nation, notwithſtanding, makes up for this, by the great attention it gives to theſe monuments. The abbey in which they ſtand is inceſſantly filled with crowds, who contemplate them: the loweſt ſort of people ſhew alſo their attention: I have ſeen herb-women holding a little book, which gives an account of them; I have ſeen milk-women getting them explained, and teſtifying, not a ſtupid admiration, but a lively and moſt ſignificant ſurprize. I have ſeen the vulgar weep at the ſight of Shakeſpeare's beautiful and expreſſive ſtatue, which recalled to their memory thoſe ſcenes of that celebrated poet, which had filled their ſouls with the moſt lively emotions *.

Sir Iſaac Newton's monument occupies one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed places in the abbey: the very

* One day, when Weſtminſter-abbey was filled with ſpectators, a porter, who happened to paſs through it, cried out, loud enough to be heard by all preſent, "How many lies do theſe ſtones contain!" This was the obſervation of a porter. Theſe monuments ſeem indeed to expoſe thoſe to whom they belong, to the ſame critical ſeverity which the Egyptians ſhewed their dead, and to the ſatire with which the Romans beſpattered their generals, when they made their triumphant proceſſions. Amongſt other ſatyrical ſtrokes of this ſort, I was told of an epigram made upon a governor of Gibraltar, who had raiſed an immenſe fortune by that poſt, and to whom one of the moſt magnificent monuments in Weſtminſter-abbey has been erected. The epigrammatiſt, addreſſing himſelf to his ſtatue, ſays, "Take care how you quit your poſt; the Devil is watching for you: and from your pedeſtal, you muſt fall plump into hell."

ſame which is taken up at Notre-Dame at Paris by St. Germain, upon the altar parallel to that of the bleſſed Virgin. Beneath the great ſtatue, ſurrounded with books, globes, &c. we read, in Latin verſes, an epitaph, which ſome paſſenger thinking too prolix, and wanting ſufficient energy, wrote with his pencil upon the cube, which make one of the ornaments: *virum ſi neſcis, abito.* "If you know not the man's character, depart."

In the ſouth croſs of the church has been erected the ſtatue of Dr. Buſby, maſter of Weſtminſter-ſchool. This ſtatue, admirably executed, and placed amongſt the monuments of the poets, &c. ſtruck me by its exact reſemblance for beauty and truth to the celebrated Languet, curate of St. Sulpice's church at Paris.

Pope has no monument erected to him in Weſtminſter-abbey. I asked the reaſon of this; and was told, that he had deprived himſelf of that honour, by living and dying in the Roman Catholic communion *.

Some foreigners make a figure in this illuſtrious company. Handel, the learned Caſaubon, St. Evremont, &c. have monuments erected in honour of them, which ſeem to refute Horace's reproach upon the Britons †. That of Caſaubon was erected, not by the chapter of Weſtminſter, of which he was a member, but by a prelate named Morton, who was his friend.

I ſhall ſay more of Weſtminſter-abbey under the article of *Arts*; but I muſt here beg leave to expreſs

* Here the author muſt have been miſinformed; Mr. Dryden died a Roman catholic, and yet his monument is among the poets in Weſtminſter-abbey. T.

† *Viſam Britannos hoſpitibus feros.*

my

my wiſhes for a collection, in which the monuments of this abbey moſt worthy of notice, either on account of their execution, or the merit of thoſe to whom they are conſecrated, ſhould be repreſented in copper-plates, done by the beſt maſters: this collection would acquire a new value, if executed at the expence of the nation.

The kings of England are buried in Weſtminſter-Abbey; the tombs of ſome of them, particularly thoſe of Henry the Seventh and Henry the Eighth, are executed in the moſt maſterly manner, and the utmoſt care*. Queen Elizabeth has but one epitaph, which, on account of its noble ſimplicity, and the princeſs who is the ſubject of it, can be deemed out of place no where.

Memoriæ ſacrum.

Religione ad primævam ſinceritatem reſtaurata; Pace fundatâ; Monetâ ad juſtum valorem reducta; Rebellione domeſtica vindicata; Gallia malis præcipiti inteſtinis ſublevata; Belgio ſuſtentato; Hiſpanica claſſe profligata; Hibernia, pulſis Hiſpanis, et rebellibus ad deditionem coactis, pacatâ; Reditibus utriuſque academiæ, lege annonariâ, plurimum adauctis; Totâ denique Angliâ ditatâ, prudentiſſimeque annos quadraginta quinque adminiſtrata;

Elizabetha regina, victrix, triumphatrix, pacatrix, hîc quieſcit.

"Sacred to memory.

Having reſtored religion to its firſt purity. Eſtabliſhed peace. Reduced the coin to its juſt

* An odd diſtinction has been made between theſe monuments and thoſe of the illuſtrious perſonages. The latter may be viſited every day, at all hours, and for nothing. There is no admiſſion to the others, except on certain days, certain hours, and upon paying ſix-pence.

ſtandard

ſtandard. Puniſhed rebellious ſubjects at home. Relieved France, which was almoſt ruined by civil wars. Supported Holland. Defeated the Spaniſh Armada. Having eſtabliſhed peace in Ireland, repulſed the Spaniards, and compelled the rebels of that country to ſubmit. Having greatly encreaſed the revenues of both univerſities, by a law relative to corn. Finally, having enriched all England, and governed it with the moſt conſummate prudence during forty-five years:

Queen Elizabeth the victorious, the triumphant, the peace-maker, repoſes here.

The ſucceeding kings have not been as well uſed by ſucceſſors, as the men of learning and virtuoſos by their family or their friends: we ſee no monuments erected in honour of their memory. To make up for this, waxen images of them, dreſſed from head to foot, are placed in the chapels where they are buried: a poor expedient, which preſents only large puppets to our view.

The honours, which are paid great men in preference to kings, the exploits of illuſtrious warriors, which are repreſented to the eye of the public, without any relation to the ſovereigns from whom they held their commiſſions *, are ſome of thoſe happy effects of national pride, which they encourage and perpetuate, and which, being thus excited, muſt be

* The kings of England behave to their generals, in this reſpect, as the emperor Claudius did to his; and this is the only matter for panegyric, which hiſtory could find in the life of that prince: *Adeo civilis fuit, ut etiam Plautium, qui in expeditione Britannicâ plurima egregia fecerat, triumphantem ipſe proſequeretur, & conſcendenti capitolio lævus incederet.* Eutrop. l. vii. "He was ſo complaiſant, that he condeſcended to follow Plautius himſelf, when he triumphed; and walked on his left, as he aſcended the Capitol."

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productive of the ſame effects as thoſe diſplayed in antient republics.

This national pride has a ſupport equally efficacious and powerful in that multitude of compoſitions, which, like the ſound of ſo many trumpets, inceſſantly remind the Engliſh of the excellence of their government, the happineſs of liberty, and all the virtues which are calculated to ſecure and maintain thoſe bleſſings.

France has happily experienced the powerful influence of works of this nature. Books of chivalry, which were long their favourite amuſement, had eſtabliſhed amongſt the French that happy mixture of bravery and politeneſs, of which the chevalier Bayard was one of the laſt models. Theſe romances were followed by a tranſlation of Plutarch's lives: It ſpread amongſt the nobility and people, with a profuſion, which evidently appears from the many editions of that excellent work: in ſhort, it became the favourite book of the nation. "We ſhould have been loſt, ſays Montaigne, book ii. chap. 4, if that book had not raiſed us out of the mire: thanks be to that work, we now venture to write and ſpeak freely: ladies can now dictate to men of learning: it is our common-place book."

Henry the Fourth reaped the fruit of the ſeeds of virtue, which that book had ſcattered throughout the nation: to it he was indebted for thoſe adherents, whoſe upright and pure intentions, ſeconded by the love of their country, raiſed him to the throne, and fixed him there in ſpite of terror and ſeduction. That prince preferring, from his character, and perhaps from policy, the candour, frankneſs, and good-nature of Plutarch, to all the malicious refinements, with which Tacitus poiſons his readers, did not approve that his courtiers ſhould pore over the latter. "One day, find-

ing Neufvy reading Tacitus, and being apprehensive that his bold genius might soar too high, he advised him to throw that author aside, and rather to read the history of military men like himself*."

The examples of virtue, courage, and patriotism, which occur in every page of Plutarch, soon had imitators. They thought; they made efforts to act in a manner worthy of the Greeks and Romans; and France gave birth to men, who, having an eye to posterity, flattered themselves, that they should be able to endear their memory to it. The army had its Montmorency's, its Du Bellays, its Chatillions, its Montlucs, its La Noues, its Castelnau's, and those renowned warriors, whose memorable exploits and sayings Brantome has collected, in imitation of Plutarch. The gown had its DE L'Hôpitals, its Harlais, its De Thous, its Pibracs, its Pithous, its Servins: the revenue itself had its Sully. These men, who may be compared to the greatest of the Greeks and Romans, both for sentiment and conduct, had likewise that spirit, or, if the reader rather chuses to call it so, that pride, which is the constant concomitant of superior merit, when joined by a conscience void of offence. We have standing monuments of this noble pride in the memoirs, where most of these illustrious men have laid before the eyes both of their contemporaries and posterity their conduct and actions, the principles upon which they proceeded, the motives which directed them, and the ends which they had in view †.

* Hist. Secret. de D'Aubigné, p. 2. See the Preface to the Political Annals of the abbé de Saint-Pierre.

† *Dicebantur eodem animo ingenioque a quo gesta erant*, "they were related with the same mind and spirit that they were performed," says Livy, speaking of Scipio's apology, in the person of that hero: an apology, in which he went so far as to say to the Romans, *Oratio de sint mei similes principes habeatis.* "Pray to the gods, that

Tacitus,

Tacitus, ſpeaking of the writings of the ſame ſort left us by the Greeks and Romans, who lived in the brilliant days of the republic, has ſketched out to us the hiſtory of our illuſtrious French anceſtors and their memoirs. "Amongſt our anceſtors, ſays that author, the force of public virtue having turned the moſt memorable actions into habit, that happy habit produced virtuous hiſtorians, without flattery, without private views, and unbiaſſed by any other intereſt but that of truth: many of them even went ſo far as to write the hiſtory of their own lives; and herein they were not actuated by preſumption, but by that confidence which virtue inſpires: Rutilius and Scaurus did this; and they neither incurred cenſure, nor had incredulity to combat. So true it is, that the moſt virtuous ages are beſt qualified to judge of virtue ‡."

you may always have princes like me." "It appears to me, ſaid the admiral de Coligni, in his account of the ſiege of St. Quintin, which he ſuſtained in 1557, that nothing is more proper than that thoſe who are inveſted with great poſts and dignities ſhould give a faithful account of their actions, if it were only for the following reaſon: it often happens, that thoſe who have been concerned in the ſame expedition publiſh a different account of it; ſome do this to inſinuate to the reader, that nothing could eſcape them; others are ſo fond of prating, that they are deſirous of talking of what they know nothing of; there are others again, who ſpeak by paſſion and prejudice, as they happen to like or diſlike people. With regard to myſelf, adds he, I have courage ſufficient to defend myſelf as every man of virtue and honour ſhould do, and to anſwer every man according to his quality, without having recourſe to writing like the lawyers." Henry the Fourth himſelf was inſpired by this noble pride. He directed and encouraged the work of M. de Thou, whoſe chief view was to write a hiſtory of his reign. By his orders, the preſident Jeannin had written the ſame hiſtory, with all the freedom required of him by that prince.

‡ *Apud priores, ut agere memoratu digna magis pronum magiſque in aſperto erat, ita celeberrimus quiſque ingenio, ad prodendam virtutis memoriam, ſine gratiâ aut ambitione, bonæ tantum conſcientiæ pretio ducebatur. Ac plerique ſuam ipſius vitam narrare, fiduciam potius morum quàm arrogantiam arbitrati ſunt. Nec id Rutilio aut Scauro citra*

To theſe ages others ſucceeded, in which, to uſe the words of Plutarch in his parallel between Lucullus and Cimon, it ſeldom happens, that heroic minds pleaſe the vulgar, or are acceptable to them.

Theſe ages may be eaſily diſtinguiſhed. In the former, that pride prevails, which is blamed by ſome, and which others admire, in the Engliſh *: ſucceeding ages are the reign of vanity †.

In the one, men appear and ſhew themſelves ſuch as they really are: in the other, they exiſt only by illuſion and deceit: at the bottom, both are actuated by the ſelf-ſame love: in great ſouls, this is pride; in narrow minds it is vanity ‡. Pride is the ſource of all great atchievements ‖: vanity is the mother of

fidem aut obtrectationi fuit. Adeo virtutes iiſdem fere temporibus æſtimantur, quibus facillimè gignuntur.

Tac. Vit. Agrip. in proœm.

Amongſt our anceſtors, as there was a greater facility and more frequent opportunities of performing memorable exploits, every man endowed with a ſuperiority of genius was excited to record his virtuous deeds without ambition or the hope of reward, and having no recompence in view but the teſtimony of a good conſcience. And moſt of them looked upon writing their lives rather as a proof of confidence in the purity of their manners, than any inſtance of arrogance and preſumption. Nor did Rutilius or Scaurus, in acting thus, find it difficult to gain credit with their readers, or incur any cenſure. Thus are virtues generally held in the higheſt eſteem, in thoſe ages in which they are moſt eaſily produced."

* This has occaſioned the old French proverb: *fier comme un Ecoſſois*, "as proud as a Scot."

† In the Life of Benedict the Fourth, Platina remarks, with regard to the Popes, the tranſition from a century of pride to a century of vanity: *Acciderat huic ætati*, ſays he, *ut hominum induſtria in quovis genere virtutis conſeneſceret, nullis calcaribus adhibitis quibus hominum ingenia ad laudem extitarentur, &c.* "It happened, that, in this age, the induſtry of men in all things laudable was worn out, no means being uſed to ſpur and excite the minds of men to virtuous deeds," &c.

‡ In the fifth chapter of his Baron de Fœneſte, entitled *des Cheres*, D'Aubigny calls vanity, *The Barber's Glory*: it is that of the Mendicant Friars, who cannot, without indignation, bear to have a title in which the Jeſuits prided themſelves.

‖ *Proles ſine matre.* "An offspring without a mother."

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all things of a frivolous nature *, as for example, of faſhions, of the etiquette or court punctilio, of ceremonial, of precedence, of honorary privileges, of pomp and parade, and all thoſe objects, with which little ſouls are ſo greatly captivated,

Quas tulit in ſcenam ventoſo gloria curru †.

Vanity ſubſiſts like water-ſpiders ‡ in a bottle of air: all its views tend to enlarge its ſhining atmoſphere: even the ſwelling of a name is an object of its purſuit; and it thinks it has made a conſiderable acquiſition, when it has gained an additional ſyllable, a letter, &c. Æſchines the orator betrayed this littleneſs of mind, upon his becoming a ſtateſman: Demoſthenes reproaches him with having, at that time, added two ſyllables to his father's name, by changing *Tromes* into *Atrometos* ‖. Pride never deſcends to theſe minuteneſſes: without going any farther than England to prove this, we might ſafely lay any wager, that Mr. Pitt would not change a name conſiſting of a monoſyllable, and which has been rendered illuſtrious by his adminiſtration, and the affection of a whole nation, for a title ever ſo pompous and high-ſounding ¶.

Pride is like a man in eaſy circumſtances, who lives at home, and enjoys himſelf: vanity is a beggar, that ſtands at the corner of the ſtreets: as of all ranks in life, beggary is the condition moſt dreaded, vain perſons, who are naturally the enemies of all

* *Proles ſine patre.* "An offspring without a father."

† Chaſſeneuz has united all the objects of this falſe glory in a folio volume, entitled, *Catalogus Gloriæ Mundi*, "A catalogue of worldly glory."

‡ Theſe inſects are to be found only in marſhes of ſtanding water.

‖ Δύο συλλαβὰς προσθεὶς, τὸν μὲν πάλαι ἀντὶ Τρομήτου ἐποίησεν Ἀτρόμητον. Demoſth. pro corona. "Adding two ſyllables to the name of his father, he reads it *Atrometos* inſtead of *Tromes*."

¶ This was written before Mr. Pitt had accepted the peerage, with the title of Earl of Chatham. See the article, *Government*.

that reſemble them, are incapable of ſetting a proper eſtimate upon whatever is raiſed above their little ſphere.

We meet with a ſtriking example of the falſe judgements paſſed by vanity, in that of cardinal du Perron upon the celebrated Fra. Paolo: "I ſaw that man the ſecond time I went to Venice, ſays the cardinal: I did not obſerve in him any thing eminent. He has ſolid judgement and good ſenſe; but no great fund of learning or knowledge. I perceived nothing in him but what was quite ordinary, and little above the common merit of a monk." The vanity of Du Perron was intereſted in paſſing a judgement ſtill more unfavourable upon the cardinal D'Oſſat. Beſides, he looked on Henry the Fourth as a man, who underſtood nothing of muſic or poetry, and who had to anſwer for all the evil which the Hugonots, whom he could have cruſhed, might do to France*.

Vanity hates pride, but the latter contents itſelf with deſpiſing the former. One proud man may reaſonably conceive an eſteem for another, if they do not run the ſame courſe; and ſo much the more, as a great ſoul is always beſt able to form a judgement of its equal. The pride of Cæſar was different from that of Cicero. The orator eſteemed and dreaded Cæſar as the moſt enterprizing perſon of the

* Perroniana. Du Perron was archbiſhop of Sens, cardinal, and great Almoner of France: *Mercedem accepit ſuam, vanus vanam.* "He received his reward; being a vain man, he had a vain recompence." What ſort of figure does Du Perron now make, that vile promoter of the pretenſions and claims of the Italians, in compariſon of thoſe, on whom his vanity knew ſo little how to ſet a proper value! With regard to the reproach which he makes Henry the Fourth, the ſame reproach was made him by Ravaillac; and this was the firſt pretext which armed that parricide's hands, as he himſelf declared, when examined by the judges.

age

age in which he lived: Cæſar eſteemed Cicero, whom he little feared, as the firſt orator of Rome. Cicero however lies greatly under the imputation of vanity, and that of the narroweſt ſort. With regard to eloquence, learning and acquired knowledge, it was impoſſible for him not to have a due ſenſe of his merit, and this was in him a juſtifiable pride; but when he was ſo vain-glorious as to conſider himſelf as the greateſt politician of his age, that was pure vanity*.

The great diſadvantage, which ariſes from the moſt legitimate pride, is the difficulty to conceal it, and the offence, which it gives the generality of mankind, whoſe vanity is hurt by it: it does not form thoſe generous ſouls, who know how to accommodate themſelves to the humour and taſte of the different ſocieties with which they happen to join. Vanity, by taking offence, eſtabliſhed the oſtraciſm at Athens; a law, which is carried into execution in all countries in the ſame caſes as at Athens; a law, which does not ſo much puniſh the ſuperiority of one citizen over the reſt, as his imprudence in diſcovering it; in a word, a law that bore a ſtrong reſemblance to that of Lycurgus, which puniſhed theft, only when the delinquent was caught in the fact.

This imprudence has, in part, characterized men of extraordinary merit in every age. Theſe men, paſſionately fond of glory, exerting themſelves to their utmoſt to acquire it, encompaſſed by envious and ignorant perſons, who were obſtinately bent upon running them down, lived by themſelves: the haughtineſs of their ſouls could not bend to that

* *Quid hoc levius? At quantus orator!* "What could be more vain than this man? Yet how great an orator was he!" This is applicable to Cicero himſelf, though he ſaid it of Demoſthenes, when he reproached that orator with a vain action. *Tuſcul. Quæſt. l.* vi.

ſuppleneſs and condeſcenſion which are the ſtrongeſt ties of ſociety and common life: their ſelf-love was not the intimate friend of the vanity of others *. Such were in the latter centuries; Michael Angelo, Malherbe, Corneille, Milton, Boſſuet, Lulli; and in our own days, Voltaire, Bouchardon, and the immortal Rameau†.

The morality of the Chriſtian religion offers humility as a counterpoiſe to vanity; but it gives none to pride, which, without debaſing itſelf in its own eyes, can perform all the duties enjoined by the moſt profound humility‡: it muſt be acknowledged, that one of theſe duties is, to think humbly of one's ſelf; but could Scipio ‖ do what the moſt abject, the loweſt and the meaneſt of wretches amongſt us cannot perform without the aid of divine grace and ſupernatural aſſiſtance?

When Alexander, in the midſt of his victories, exclaimed, "O Athenians, what do we not attempt, to make you talk of us?" was this exclamation dictated by pride, or by vanity? If the king of Pruſſia had, in his laſt campaigns, ſaid this to the news-writers of Paris, it would have been the moſt

* Madame de Sevigné, in a letter of the 11th of September, 1689, paid this compliment to her friend Corbinelli.

† See the Life of Rameau, by M. Marret.

‡ *Glorioſa res humilitas: hâc ipſa ſuperbia palliare ſe appetit, ne vilеſcat*, "humility is an admirable thing: even pride itſelf endeavours to wear this maſk, leſt it ſhould grow contemptible," ſaid Peter de Blois, a writer who was naturalized in England. Roman pride was akin to the greateſt modeſty. Livy comparing his own age to that of the true grandeur of the Romans, ſays: *hanc modeſtiam animique altitudinem ubi nunc in uno inveneris, quæ tunc univerſi populi fuit?* "Where will you now find that modeſty and greatneſs of ſoul in a ſingle individual, which was then ſo conſpicuous in a whole people?"

‖ *Pub. Scipionis major animus & naturâ erat, & majori fortunæ aſſuetus quàm ut ſciret ſubmittere ſe in humilitatem.* Livy. "Publius Scipio's ſoul was too great by nature, and accuſtomed to too great proſperity, for him to know how to humble himſelf.

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deſpicable vanity; but the people of Athens, ſtill inſtructed by the beſt leſſons, and encompaſſed by monuments erected to civil and military virtues, were a judge, whoſe applauſe might appear flattering and deſirable even to true pride. *Ab iis ſumma laus proficiſcitur qui ipſi inter laudes vixerunt.* Cicer. "The higheſt praiſes ariſe from thoſe, who have themſelves been deſerving of praiſe."

I place theſe conſiderations in this part of my work with the greater confidence *, as they are a recapitulation of the converſation I had with the moſt prejudiced Engliſhmen concerning the ſource of national pride, and that of individuals †; of which, the former is the reſult. "Free nations are proud, ſays M. de Monteſquieu; others may more naturally be vain ‡."

A regard for poſterity is the firſt food of patriotic pride: this regard operates in the order of nature what ſhould follow in the ſupernatural order from a firm belief of the immortality of the ſoul. It is this view or regard, this || deſire of engaging the attention of poſterity, and intereſting it in our behalf, that has, during theſe two centuries, procured England, and London in particular, a number of foundations, whoſe magnificence is equal to their utility. I ſhall here give ſome account of a few, which happened to come to my knowledge ¶.

* Addiſon has treated upon this ſubject in his Spectator, N°. 31.

† Man is not of ſo much worth as he thinks himſelf.

‡ Spirit of Laws, book xiv. chap. 20.

|| Montagne, book ii. chap. 12. Arioſto has, in three verſes, deſcribed the object of this deſire with as much energy as truth:

Quel odor che ſol riman di noi,
Poſciache il reſto fragile é defunto,
Che trae l'huom del ſepolcro e in vita il ſerba.

Cant. vii. ſt. 41.

¶ Here no foundations are in queſtion, but thoſe of private perſons: I ſhall ſpeak elſewhere of public foundations, formed and ſupported at the expence of the nation.

I have

I have already made mention of the college founded, and the Royal-Exchange erected, by Sir Thomas Greſham *, as likewiſe of the garden given to the Company of Apothecaries by Sir Hans Sloane. The magnificence of that phyſician has not confined itſelf to making them a preſent of the ground, which, conſidering its extent, and the place where it ſtands, was, in itſelf, a donation of great importance. This ground has long been conſecrated to the cultivation of exotic plants; as ſufficiently appears from cedars of Mount Libanus, now full grown, which give ſhade to a little piece of water in the midſt of the garden. The phyſician, after being honoured with the equeſtrian title, acquired this garden, and ſpared nothing to put it upon a level with the king's garden at Paris; and it was when he had brought it to ſuch a degree of perfection at his own expence, that he made a preſent of it to the Apothecaries, aſſigning funds for it at the ſame time, the annual income of which is almoſt ſufficient to ſupport and keep it in repair.

Though I happened to be at the very gate of this garden, I could not find it; and no body could direct me, on account of my manner of pronouncing the word *apothecary:* I was extricated out of this perplexity by a perſon, who accoſted me in a very obliging manner, and informed me, that he was a native of Lower Normandy; that his name was Tellier, and he was maſter of Chelſea-ſchool. He offered me all the ſervice in his power; and, in ſhort, gave me the aſſiſtance I moſt wanted, that of conducting me to the Phyſic-garden.

* In this college he eſtabliſhed profeſſors of divinity, civil law, phyſic, geometry, aſtronomy, muſic, and rhetoric.
The college is now pulled down, to make room for the Exciſe-office, and the public lectures are given in a room over the Royal-Exchange. T.

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The college of phyſicians had a benefactor belonging to their body, who, in 1652, built the houſe where they perform their public exerciſes, adorned it with a rich library, and, for the ſupport of that eſtabliſhment, bequeſted his whole fortune. This benefactor was the celebrated Harvey, ſo well known in the medical world, by his diſcovery of the circulation of the blood. In this foundation, he followed the example ſet him by the learned Linacer, the firſt founder of this ſociety *. A Latin oration is annually pronounced in praiſe of the founders and benefactors of the college.

When the Roman catholic was the eſtabliſhed religion of England, the neighbourhood of London was filled with religious houſes, well built, opulent, and agreeably ſituated. Henry the Eighth, Edward, and Elizabeth, having ſuppreſſed theſe houſes; the buildings, and part of the revenues of ſome, were ſaved from pillage by the endeavours of a few worthy citizens, who applied them to public uſes, as colleges, hoſpitals,.. &c. the ſtability of which they ſecured by conſiderable foundations.

Thus the monaſtery of the Carthuſians, which ſtill goes by the name of the Charter-houſe, is converted into an alms-houſe: this vaſt building, ſurrounded with beautiful gardens, ſupports and maintains eighty old men, called penſioners, who live together; and forty-four boys, who there receive their education; beſides twenty-four ſtudents at the Univerſities. For if the boys have a genius for learning, they are ſent to the univerſities, where they are allowed twenty pounds annually during eight years: if they happen to take another turn, they are put apprentices to ſome trade, at their option.

* Hiſtory of Phyſic, by Dr. Freind.

This

This hoſpital was founded in the laſt century, by one Mr. Sutton; who, after having ſpent ſeven thouſand pounds to fit up the houſe, endowed it with four thouſand pounds a year, now improved to ſix thouſand pounds.

Thomas Guy, a bookſeller, with great munificence, founded an hoſpital for the ſick and impotent, at the charge of near two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds.

The hoſpitals for Foundlings and Inoculation are late foundations, and equally noble. The Foundlings are educated either for the ſea or the army: in conſequence of this deſtination, they are taught to ſwim when very young. Happening to go to Chelſea one evening in the month of April, I ſaw a number of theſe boys, quaking and ſwimming, under the inſpection of a maſter, in a reſervoir of water raiſed by a fire engine.

An Engliſhman, whoſe name is known all over Europe, Sir Robert Cotton, collected, at his own expence, the moſt valuable remains of the libraries of ſeveral monaſteries; that is to ſay, the effects of thoſe houſes, which, at the time of their being plundered and demoliſhed, were taken leaſt notice of by the deſtroyers; and to theſe remains, he joined a conſiderable part of the archives of the crown, often diſperſed and ſcattered by revolutions. All men of learning, whether Engliſh or foreigners, during his life-time, enjoyed this immenſe collection, which increaſed every day; and to ſecure the uſe of it to them, he bequeathed it to the public. The parliament, conſidering itſelf as the heir, in the name of the public and the nation, took the beſt meaſures it could, to give the benefaction of that learned and generous citizen all the ſtability, which its utility deſerves.

ſerves. Since Montague-houſe was ſet apart for the Muſeum Britannicum, the Cotton Library has been transferred thither, for the greater convenience of the public.

I muſt not omit a private undertaking of a different nature, but equally important. The works upon the river Thames were not ſufficient to ſupply the higher quarters of London with water. At the beginning of the laſt century, a private gentleman formed and executed, at his own expence, for the inhabitants of London, the kind of project lately ſet on foot for the city of Paris by Mr. De Parcieux, and which the Pariſians do not ſeem in haſte to carry into execution, though more ſimple, and leſs expenſive. Sir Hugh Middleton brought up to London, from a diſtance of ſixty miles, in the winding courſe, a river, which flows in a canal, cut deep through the land, and over two vales, by means of troughs. It has eight hundred bridges over it. This great work was begun and compleated in five years, during which time it kept ſix hundred workmen inceſſantly employed.

All England is filled with ſuch monuments of patriotic magnificence; amongſt which, we may reckon the colleges of the two univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge, the fellowſhips founded, and the libraries eſtabliſhed, in thoſe colleges. None of theſe eſtabliſhments is the work of the nation: ſome of them are royal foundations; but theſe are eclipſed by ſeveral inſtitutions of private perſons. I ſhall here name only the Sheldon theatre at Oxford. The hiſtory of the two univerſities gives us all the information we can deſire, with regard to theſe particulars.

I muſt add to theſe eſtabliſhments, 1. A column of conſiderable dimenſions, with its pedeſtal and its chapiter,

piter, in the middle of a place, called the Seven Dials, where ſeven ſtreets meet. Mr. Neal, a private perſon, who lived in that part of the town, formed the plan of it, which he cauſed to be carried into execution at his own expence.

2. The fair ſtone bridge over the river Avon, at Stratford, in the county of Warwick. This bridge, of fourteen arches, was built by Hugh Clopton, lord-mayor of London, who, being a native of that place, was willing to leave to the town that gave him birth, a monument of his affection.

3. The port of Ely, upon the eaſtern coaſt of the province of Fife in Scotland. About the middle of the laſt century, that port was lined all the way with a ſtone wall, at the expence of a Scotch nobleman, who had no other object in view, but the advantage and ornament of the place of his nativity.

4. Several bridges built between London and Oxford, by Mr. Dicker, who, having made a fortune in America, came, twenty years after, to ſpend it in the ſervice of the country where he was born, and in which he, by that means, became *Pontifex Maximus*. Amongſt theſe bridges, that which he cauſed to be thrown over the Thames at Walton makes a conſpicuous figure: the building coſt ten thouſand pounds. The lands divided by the Thames, and which this bridge may be ſaid to unite, have thereby greatly increaſed their value.

5. Laſtly, The harbour which one of the Laval family * cauſed to be opened in the neighbourhood of Newcaſtle, in a place filled by a vaſt rock, which it

* They trace the origin of their family up to one of the Lavals of France, who went over to England with William the Conqueror.

was

was found neceſſary to attack with the reſolution, and at the expence, required by enterprizes of that nature.

I ſhall not place amongſt theſe eſtabliſhments, Kew-bridge, built of wood acroſs the river Thames, ſix miles from London. The perſon who built it, obtained a toll, to be collected from paſſengers. The preſent king, having made Richmond the place of his ſummer reſidence, paſſes over this bridge to and from London, and is obliged to pay this toll in common with his ſubjects. So ſacred is the right of Engliſh property.

Such is the influence of the national character in England, that the people know no medium between prodigality and the moſt rigid œconomy. The parſimonious find means, by their frugality, to bear the expence of all the public foundations and erections, which I have already mentioned. As they do not pique themſelves upon living and dreſſing like other people, nor ſquare their taſtes by thoſe of their neighbours, they are uninfluenced by example, ſuperior to prejudices, and entirely concentered within themſelves. They ſpend or ſave money as they think proper, and when they think proper; in ſhort, with an income inſufficient for thouſands in the ſame circumſtances, they find a ſuperfluity, which they accumulate, either to leave a great fortune to their heirs, or to indulge ſuch fancies as thoſe I have been mentioning: fancies, which, with Engliſh pride, ſupply the place of a variety of equipages, of lace, jewels, and all the tranſient brilliancy, that national vanity elſewhere ſubſtitutes to ſolid and durable monuments, ſuch as adorned Athens and Rome *,

* *Publicam magnificentiam depopulatur privata luxuries.* Paterc. l. ii. "The luxury of private perſons deſtroys public magnificence."

and

and, in the eyes of poſterity, will alſo be the ornament of England.

I have been told, on this occaſion, of an event, which occurred in common life, but is moſt ſtrikingly odd and ſingular; eſpecially with reſpect to thoſe, who think and act like the vulgar.

A collection was made, to build the hoſpital of Bedlam. Thoſe who were employed to gather this money, came to a ſmall houſe, the door of which was half open; from the entry, they overheard an old man ſcolding his ſervant-maid, who, having made uſe of a match in kindling the fire, had afterwards indiſcreetly thrown it away, without reflecting that the match, having ſtill the other extremity dipped in ſulphur, might be of further ſervice. After diverting themſelves a while with the diſpute, they knocked, and preſented themſelves before the old gentleman. As ſoon as they told him the cauſe of their coming, he went into a cloſet, from whence he brought four hundred guineas, and reckoning the money in their preſence, he put it into their bag. The collectors being aſtoniſhed at this generoſity, which they little expected, could not help teſtifying their ſurprize; and told the old fellow what they had heard. "Gentlemen, ſaid he, your ſurprize is occaſioned by a thing of very little conſequence. I keep houſe, and ſave or ſpend money my own way: the one furniſhes me with the means of doing the other: and both equally gratify my inclinations. With regard to benefactions and donations, always expect moſt from prudent people, who keep their accounts."

When he had ſpoken thus, he turned them out of his houſe without ceremony, and ſhut the door, not thinking half ſo much of the four hundred guineas, which he had juſt given away, as of the match that had been thrown into the fire *.

I was witneſs to an act of munificence, of which an ingenious man, little favoured by fortune, was the object. In an aſſembly as numerous as brilliant, the converſation happened to turn upon a new publication, which was highly praiſed by a nobleman, who had juſt peruſed it. A perſon in company, underſtanding, from what the nobleman ſaid, that he was a ſtranger to the author, went in queſt of him, knowing him to be hard by, and introduced him to the nobleman; at the ſame time, intimating, that he ſtood in need of pecuniary aſſiſtance. His lordſhip coldly told the author, that he liked the work very well, and, drawing out his purſe, made him a preſent of it: the author received it with as much indifference as it was given. I followed him, and ſaw him reckon the contents, which amounted to ſixty-two guineas.

Societies, whoſe object is the cultivation of ſciences, literature, and arts, were formed by the ſpirit of patriotiſm, which abundantly ſupplies them with every aſſiſtance and encouragement. I ſhall hereafter give the reader an account of theſe meetings.

Let us conclude this article with that multitude of ſubſcriptions, which are every day ſet on foot, and

* Thus the love of order, which makes a part of the Engliſh character, tyrannizes over thoſe whom it inſpires. I was ſhewn a very extraordinary example of the power of this tyranny in a man of the lower ſort, who walked upon two wooden legs. He had broken a leg in leaping a ditch; he therefore, through uniformity, cut off his other leg: an account of this was publiſhed in the news-papers, in which the action was praiſed, and received with an admiration highly advantageous to the brave lover of uniformity.

filled up, throughout England, to aſſiſt indigence; to relieve thoſe who have ſuffered by unforeſeen loſſes; and to contribute to the execution of deſigns tending to public utility. During my reſidence in London, a ſubſcription was opened in favour of the Calas's of Toulouſe. The injuſtice complained of by this family raiſed the indignation of the Engliſh the more, as it was committed in France. This intereſt procured the moſt favourable reception to M. Elie de Beaumont, who went over to London, after having proſecuted and obtained, at the court of Verſailles, the revocation of the decree of the parliament of Toulouſe.

The common people, that is to ſay, an aſſemblage of mean and little ſouls, can ſee nothing in the patriotic munificence, of which England preſents us ſo many examples, but the deſire of popularity and reputation; a deſire unknown to thoſe, who have ſo little regard for their characters as to dread the inſpection of the public: a deſire utterly unknown to the man, who, being deſpicable in his own eyes, can expect nothing but contempt from ſhewing himſelf: men of this ſort have a rule laid down for their conduct in the Pythagorean maxim, *Conceal thy manner of living*. But a man of ſentiment can brave all ills, except contempt. And even allowing the deſire of acquiring a reputation to be one of the collateral branches of patriotic munificence, what can be more agreeable to every idle ſpectator, than that this deſire ſhould ſpread; that the examples ſhould be multiplied; and that every man ſhould endeavour to make the world ſpeak of him, at the ſame expence?

The mob, that is to ſay, fools, who are always malicious,

Car de tout mal ſottiſe eſt le vrai type,
" For folly is the type of ev'ry ill*,"
judging of others by themſelves †, imagine patriotic magnificence to have a perſonal intereſt, either remote or immediate, in view; and even, if theſe views ſhould never be realized, they chuſe rather to ſuppoſe that they were diſappointed, than acknowledge their error.

VALOUR.

MILITARY glory, which, in the annals of ancient chivalry, had placed king Arthur, and the knights of the round table, in the firſt claſs of heroes; and the great exploits, which, in ages more enlightened, have preſerved that glory to the inhabitants of Great-Britain; had likewiſe their ſource in the national character of the Engliſh, and in that melancholy which is its predominant principle.

" Cato the elder once anſwered certain perſons, that beſtowed high praiſes upon a man, who was beyond meaſure daring in the perils and hazards of war, that there was a great difference between ſetting a value upon virtue, and undervaluing one's life: which was wiſely ſaid." We are told, that Antigonus had in his ſervice a ſoldier, who was very intrepid, but, at the ſame time, in a very indifferent ſtate of health. The king aſked him one day, how he came to be ſo pale, and had ſo ſickly a complection. The ſoldier made anſwer, that it proceeded from a diſorder, the cauſe of which was utterly unknown to him. Upon hearing this, Antigonus commanded his phyſicians to examine the nature of the

* Rouſſeau, Ep. to Cl. Marot.

† I was myſelf a witneſs of a ſuppoſition of this ſort, with regard to a monument raiſed to the memory of M. de Maupertuis, in the church of St. Roch in Paris.

diſeaſe, and to cure him, if poſſible. The phyſicians exerted themſelves in ſuch a manner, that they reſtored the ſoldier to his health. But as ſoon as he recovered, he ceaſed to behave with the ſame alacrity, and to brave danger as before. Antigonus perceiving this one day, upbraided him; telling him, that he was aſtoniſhed to obſerve ſo great a change in his behaviour. The ſoldier did not conceal the cauſe; but ſaid to him: You yourſelf, Sire, have made me leſs intrepid than I was, by getting me cured of the diſeaſe which made me indifferent about life. The ſaying of a certain Sibarite, concerning the Lacedæmonians, inculcates the ſame leſſon; he obſerved, that it was no wonder they ſhould be ready to die in war, in order to be delivered from ſo rough and miſerable a life as they were obliged to lead."

From theſe facts, collected by Plutarch, in the opening of the life of Pelopidas, it reſults, that melancholy, and the uneaſineſs which it occaſions, both in body and mind, may have a great influence upon valour, conſidered as ariſing from the contempt of life; and that they may have had ſome ſhare in the moſt brilliant actions of the Engliſh, as well in their antient expeditions againſt France, as in their civil wars.

The hiſtorian, who has given us the life of one of the greateſt captains that France ever produced, in an age moſt fruitful in military virtues, viz. the author of the Life of the chevalier Bayard, obſerves, that his hero was troubled, for ſeven years, with a quartan ague: now this was the very time that eſtabliſhed his reputation.

The ill ſtate of health of marſhal Saxe, at the battle of Fontenoy, perhaps contributed to the ſucceſs of the French: he defeated the Engliſh with the

the weapon in which they put moſt confidence, I mean, the diſguſt of life, and the contempt of death.

But, without quitting England, its hiſtory preſents us with an illuſtrious example of this kind, in the renowned Richard the Firſt. That prince, upon his aſcending the throne, did his utmoſt to forward the expedition to the Holy Land, which his father, Henry the Second, had undertaken without intending ever to carry it into execution. He ſet ſail for Paleſtine, took the iſland of Cyprus by the way, raiſed the Chriſtians engaged in the cruſade from their diſtreſſed condition, and even awed Saladin himſelf by continued acts of valour and bravery, which procured him the ſur-name of Cœur-de-lion. When this prince ſet out for the Holy Land, it was doubted whether he would ever return to England, on account of his ill ſtate of health, as he had been a long time troubled with a quartan ague*.

SUICIDE.

FROM the diſguſt of life, and the contempt of death, ariſes the firſt and capital evil which melancholy occaſions amongſt the Engliſh: I mean, their turn to ſuicide.

Henry Stephens, in his Apology for Herodotus, chap. 18, entitled, Concerning the Homicides of our Age, makes an enquiry into the cauſes of ſuicide, and thinks he finds them in the troubled conſcience of

* *In orientalis expeditionis labore, cito abſumendus videbatur quartano incommodo, quo diù laboraverat correptus & tabidus. Indices in eo apparebant, cum pallore faciei, membrorum corpulentiâ.* Gul. Neubr. de Reb. Angl. l. iv. c. 5.

"It was thought he ſoon would be waſted away by the quartan ague, with which he had long been troubled, and conſumed to a ſkeleton. The ſymptoms which appeared outwardly were, a pale complexion, and ſwollen limbs."

thoſe that yield to their deſpair. "When all the forms of a trial are completed in the mind by an extraordinary proceſs; the ſentence is put in execution by extraordinary means*."

The laſt and moſt extenſive of the duke de Rochefoucault's moral reflections is conſecrated to this ſubject. He there maintains: "That the contempt of death is never real,—that men may have many reaſons to be diſguſted with life, but that they can never have any to deſpiſe death.—The glory of dying reſolutely, adds he, the hope of being regretted, the deſire of acquiring renown, the certainty of being delivered from the miſeries of this life, and no longer dependant upon the caprice of fortune, are remedies by no means to be rejected; but how weak and inſufficient are theſe ſtruggles, to ſupport the ſoul againſt the ſevereſt of all trials!"

Remarking elſewhere (Reflection 24.) upon the contempt of death affected by many condemned criminals: "he ſees nothing in that contempt of death, but the fear of looking it in the face: inſomuch, adds he, that this contempt is to their ſouls what the handkerchief is to their eyes."

Other French authors have aſcribed the ſuicide of the Engliſh to the affectation of ſingularity, and the deſire of holding a diſtinguiſhed place in the public papers.

* The Stoic philoſophy adopted at Rome, in the laſt century of the Roman republic, inculcated different ſentiments. In conformity to the ideas of this philoſophy, Virgil, in the 6th Æneid, places thoſe in Hell,

Qui ſibi Lethum
Inſontes peperere manu, lucemque peroſi
Projecere animas.

And repreſents their regret of life, as their chief torment:

Quam vellent æthere in alto
Nunc & pauperiem & duros perferre labores!

The

The Italians, who are in this reſpect more knowing, becauſe melancholy has great influence over them*, have, in the order of ſins, placed ſuicide the laſt of thoſe heinous crimes, which they call *Accidia*. They conſider this ſin as the ſource of the ſoul's lukewarmneſs to good; of its oppoſition to the cries of conſcience; of the refractorineſs of the mind to the dogmas of religion; and finally, of that laſt and higheſt pitch of deſpair, which excites a man to lay violent hands upon himſelf.

The ingenious Paſcal was, doubtleſs, ignorant of this, when he rallied the good Eſcobar for defining the laſt of the capital ſins, a grief that ſpiritual things ſhould be ſpiritual. The very word grief, *triſtitia*, made uſe of in this definition, loſt its original ſignification, when it paſſed from Italy to France. Synonymous to *Accidia*, it denoted in the mouth of an Italian, *malicè* or *wickedneſs*, rather than an affliction of mind, or dejection of ſoul. It was diveſted of its nature, when tranſplanted to a country, where melancholy and its concomitant affections were neither known nor felt. No ſadneſs was ever known there, but a tranſient concern, which time and diſſipation diſpel: the people of this country had no idea of the exceſſes into which men are hurried by yielding to the impreſſions of melancholy: this deſpair is the ſeventh in the Italian catalogue of mortal ſins. Divines, in order to make up the number of ſins, have ſubſtituted to this, which is unknown in France, a ſin, which, even according to the definition given in

* Some of their authors have adopted the rigid ſyſtem of the Stoics, with regard to ſuicide. *Quicquam non poteſt*, ſaid Seneca, *qui mori non poteſt*. "He can do nothing, who cannot die." The tender, the plaintive Petrarch concludes his 18th ſonnet with a literal tranſlation of this maxim:

Ben può nulla chi non può morire.
"Who cannot die can do nothing."

the French catechiſms, is, generally ſpeaking, altogether venial.

Let us leave the Italians and Engliſh in the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of this ſin: let us congratulate the French, upon its being unknown to their forefathers: let us excite them to fortify themſelves againſt gloomy vapours, or rather againſt that indolence, which creates, nouriſhes, and inflames them; and which, after having deſtroyed the natural gaiety of the nation, has nothing but this ſin to leave in its ſtead.

This diſtemper is the ſcourge of thoſe ages and countries, in which the idle citizens, reclined upon the boſom of abundance and proſperity, have nothing to think of but cultivating their minds. In the plains of Damaſcus, that is to ſay, in the moſt delightful country in the world, this diſorder, at the time of the Ommiad Caliphs, ruined and laid waſte Arabia, where it was unknown, while the inhabitants were entirely taken up with their conqueſts. The renowned Caliph Al-Mamoun, and almoſt all the princes of his dynaſty, were brought to the grave in early youth by hypochondriac diſorders *.

The church of England has, in its liturgy, a particular form of prayer, which is read by clergymen over thoſe who labour under an exceſs of melancholy †. In it they pray to God, "To give the diſordered perſon, according to his promiſes, the ſpirit of patience, conſolation, and confidence; to ſupport him againſt the temptations by which he is attacked; to diſpel the troubles of his ſoul; not to trample upon a broken reed, nor to put out the wick which is ſtill ſmoaking; finally, to reſtore to him for whom they pray, that peace of mind, ſerenity, and joy, which have forſaken him."

* Herbelot's *Biblioth. Orient.*

† Viſitat. of the Sick. T.

The

The eccleſiaſtical and civil laws of England, antient as well as modern, are more rigorous, with regard to ſuicide, than thoſe of other countries. As they had the bent of the people to this vice to combat, they have heightened the puniſhments elſewhere ordained, to put a ſtop to its courſe. According to theſe laws, the corpſe of a man, who has laid violent hands upon himſelf, is to be buried in the highway, with a ſtake driven through it.

But nature is too powerful for laws: thoſe againſt ſuicide have not been able to ſtop the progreſs of it in England: from whence it has been inferred, that it ſhould not be ſo much conſidered as an affair of taſte and choice, as a diſorder, which deſerves pity rather than puniſhment*.

The care which has been taken to ſtop all the paſſages, that lead to the Thames †, is doubtleſs to be dated from the time that theſe laws were executed with rigour. Thoſe who drowned themſelves deprived the law of its rights with regard to the corpſe, which it could not, in that caſe, make an example of: but what precautions can prevent thoſe, who are reſolved to die, from carrying their purpoſe into execution?

That it is impoſſible to prevent this miſchief, I am convinced, by the ſhocking ſight of twenty ſkulls, which were found in the bed of the Thames, where they were digging the foundation for the firſt piles of the new bridge. The architect, as they were

* Suicide was no doubt equally criminal in the eye of the Athenian laws. They ordained ſimply, that the hand, with which a perſon killed himſelf, ſhould be ſevered from his body, and buried by itſelf. *Æſchines's oration againſt Cteſiphon, towards the end.*

† See p. 27.

found

found, ranged them in order in a yard at the head of the bridge. He ſhewed me one of a blacker hue than the reſt, which was found by the labourers when they had dug ten foot under ground.

To form a judgement of the whole channel of the Thames from this ſpecimen, it ſhould be ſtrewed with ſuch ſpoils of humanity, that is to ſay, with monuments of the eternal diſpoſition of the Engliſh to ſuicide, even, if we place amongſt theſe monuments, thoſe of the ſeveral engagements that have been fought in the metropolis.

Thoſe who, in the preſent age, are for making away with themſelves, are no longer in any perplexity about the choice of a place for committing this execrable act. On the firſt of May, 1765, the wife of a colonel drowned herſelf in the canal in St. James's park; a baker hanged himſelf in Drury-lane; a girl, who lived near Bedlam, made an attempt to diſpatch herſelf in the ſame manner; and theſe deaths were all inſerted in the public papers. The colonel's wife had diſcovered an amour of her huſband's; the young girl had had a difference with her gallant; the baker's reaſons were never known.

A cloſe application to the ſciences and to polite learning, does not cure the Engliſh of this unhappy turn. The annals of literature abound with examples of this ſort. I ſhall mention only that of Mr. Creech, author of the beſt commentary upon Lucretius extant. After having long exerted himſelf in vain efforts to prevail upon a handſome young lady to make a return to his paſſion, he beheld the new century that was approaching, as a period of grief and vexation: this he prevented, by hanging himſelf about the cloſe of the year 1700.

Suicide

Suicide has even found its partiſans and apologiſts amongſt the learned of that nation. Dr. Donne, one of the beſt preachers in London in the reign of king James the Firſt, author of ſeveral moral and even devout tracts, drew up, in Engliſh, with the title of *Biathanatos*, a treatiſe, in which he endeavoured to prove, that ſelf-murder is not ſo far ſinful, but it may ſometimes be allowable. This treatiſe, which makes a ſmall volume in quarto, was publiſhed in 1647, after the death of the author, and has been reprinted. About the ſame time M. de St. Cyran maintained a ſimilar theſis.

I cannot ſay whether that performance of Dr. Donne has given occaſion to a great number of voluntary deaths in England*: they are ſufficiently excited by the impetuoſity, which the paſſions in general, and that of love in particular, derive from melancholy. Theſe paſſions are the more violent, as they are more concentered, and ſhew themſelves leaſt externally. Hence thoſe ill-ſuited matches, which are ſo common in England, among all ranks. At one and twenty, they are compleatly of age. Perſons of both ſexes, who happen at that age to be at their own diſpoſal by the death of their parents, generally ſpeaking, conſult only their inclinations in the choice of a conſort. Now a youthful heart, expoſed as a prey to all ſorts of ſeduction, is little able to diſcover or reſiſt them.

The hiſtory of England preſents us with a variety of examples of ill-ſuited matches, even among perſons of the moſt exalted ſtations, contracted at an age of maturity, and when there was no danger of ſeduction: examples, which ſeem to juſtify that of the celebrated Mary, queen of Scots.

* *Quaſi jam non ſatis ſuâ ſponte furiant inſtigat.* Terent. Adelph. "He excites and urges them, as if they were not eager enough themſelves."

Ogina,

Ogina, daughter to Edward the Elder, king of England, widow to Charles the Fourth of France, and mother to his ſucceſſor, took for her ſecond huſband Herbert, count of Troyes, whom ſhe followed to St. Quintin, to be joined with him in the bonds of wedlock. Mary of England, widow to our good king Lewis the Twelfth, three months after that prince's death, married Charles Brandon, afterwards duke of Suffolk. Another ſiſter of Henry the Eighth choſe a Scotch peer for her ſecond huſband: theſe princeſſes followed the example of the king their brother, who could not compel them to a delicacy to which he was himſelf a ſtranger.

Young perſons, whoſe parents are ſtill living, cannot marry without their conſent; but they find means to gratify their inclinations by clandeſtine marriages, and defy the laws which condemn them.

Theſe laws occaſioned a warm debate in parliament, during my reſidence in London: they are much the ſame as in France: it was deliberated, to abrogate them as being obſtacles to population, which ſhould be the firſt aim of wiſe and juſt legiſlators. The bill, which had already paſſed in the houſe of commons, met with great oppoſition among the lords, and the affair remained undetermined; but the parties have a reſource open to them, in the indulgence of the lord chancellor, before whoſe tribunal theſe affairs are brought, and generally treated with great lenity.

Lucan looks upon valour, ſuicide, and the contempt of death, which are generally to be found in the inhabitantants of northern countries, as things dependent entirely upon climate.

Populi quos deſpicit Arctos,
Felices errore ſuo, quos ille timorum
Maximus haud urit, lethi metus.

FANA-

FANATICISM AND SUPERSTITION.

BY one of thoſe contrarieties, which would be thought impoſſible, if daily experience did not demonſtrate their exiſtence, fanaticiſm and ſuperſtition are near akin to each other: they reſemble a quarter-ſtaff, which the authors of all great revolutions have, in every age, known how to make a proper uſe of. When once the imagination of the people is worked upon, it runs equally into both theſe exceſſes, and the progreſs they make in them is proportioned to their temper and conſtitution.

Chez les Anglois ſombres & durs eſprits
Toute folie eſt noire, atrabilaire:
Chez les Francois ell eſt vive & legere *.

"Among the gloomy, ſtubborn Engliſh, follies wear a melancholy, black, and diſmal hue: in Frenchmen they are light and airy."

In thoſe unhappy times, when almoſt all England was in arms againſt its king, againſt epiſcopacy, &c. in thoſe times of mutiny and rebellion, the Engliſh acknowledged no rule or law of conduct, but what was called *The pure word of God*; the kingdom was filled with aſtrologers, magicians, and ſorcerers.

The long parliament had one Lilly, attached to its intereſt, who every year publiſhed an almanac, in which he foretold conqueſts and victories over the royal party. Fairfax himſelf vouchſafed to conſult this impoſtor, whoſe art he publicly declared to be actually conformable to *the word of God*.

The ſame parliament looked upon all their adverſaries in the light of ſorcerers. They therefore appointed commiſſioners, to go up and down the pro-

* Voltaire.

vinces,

vinces, and purge them of this wicked race. The proceedings of theſe commiſſioners, and the proofs which they made uſe of, united all the moſt ludicrous and moſt cruel practices of the monkiſh inquiſitors, for the diſcovery and extirpation of witchcraft.

One of the moſt zealous of theſe commiſſioners, named Hopkins, had the ſame misfortune as the Dominican friar, whom his brethren inſerted in the legend, by the name of St. Peter the martyr. In a certain county, where he could make no reſiſtance, he was ſeized, and plunged in water, with his hands and feet bound, by way of trial: he ſwam upon the ſurface, and, having thus convicted himſelf of ſorcery, by the very touchſtone of that crime, he was condemned to be hanged: they went on with the jeſt, and he was executed accordingly.

A committee of this parliament of Cromwell's held its aſſemblies at Woodſtock. One of theſe meetings was diſturbed by an apparition of the devil: this was rumoured about, and gave riſe to an infinity of ſpeculations and diſſertations *pro & con.*

Whithers, a writer for the parliament, has, in a long wretched poem, taken notice of an event of the ſame nature. The ſtory is, that a ſoldier of the royal party, drinking to the devil's health, was, in a moment, ſnatched through a pane of glaſs, by the fiend whom he invoked.

Many perſons had then the devil at their command. Meric Caſaubon, canon of Canterbury, has not thought it below him, to give the hiſtory of the commerce carried on between this father of lies, and one Dr. Dee, a character ſomewhat reſembling count Gabalis.

The facetious Butler has not neglected theſe facts, with which he has enlivened the ſixth canto of his poem of Hudibras.

I have forgot the name of an archbiſhop of York, who died in the year 1630. Being by his ſtation conſtrained to hold conferences with a perſon who pretended to have a familiar ſpirit, after vainly attempting to undeceive that enthuſiaſt, he took pen in hand, and, upon the ſubject of the familiar, wrote a dialogue in the manner of the *Devil upon Two Sticks*, in which he repreſented the Puritans and Catholics as falling together by the ears. I have been aſſured, that this is a maſter-piece of humour. The archbiſhop who wrote it, compoſed an epitaph for himſelf, which is ſtill extant upon his tomb in the cathedral of York, with the following titles: *Indignus Decanus, Indignior Epiſcopus, Indigniſſimus Archiepiſcopus**.

The melancholy temper of the Engliſh has rendered them, in all ages, exceeding fond of every thing which appears to be out of the common order. Hence that veneration, ſo long and univerſally eſtabliſhed for the ſorcerer Merlin, &c. &c. The writings of all the antient poets of Great-Britain, of all the hiſtorians, of William of Newbury, and Matthew Paris himſelf, are a continued regiſter of miracles, apparitions, and ghoſts.

In thoſe barbarous ages, the monks, who alone kept the records of the revolutions and the ſeveral events of Europe, were devoted, as well by intereſt as taſte, to that phrenzy of which enlightened ages have purged hiſtory: but that taſte in a particular manner infected the Engliſh. This evidently appears from the charge of witchcraft, brought by the whole

* Archbiſhop Harſnet is the perſon here meant. He had a controverſy with John Darrell, who pretended to caſt out devils. This archbiſhop lies buried at Chigwell in Eſſex. The inſcription runs thus: *Indignus epiſcopus Cicestrenſis, dein indignior Norwicenſ. demum indigniſſimus archiepiſcopus Eboracenſis.* T.

body of the clergy, againſt Robert Groſthead, biſhop of Lincoln. That biſhop was greatly ſuperior to his contemporaries in knowledge and abilities *: this was his real crime. In thoſe days of ignorance, France had likewiſe ſome prelates, who might have done honour to more enlightened ages. Envy and jealouſy played their uſual game; but they did not turn againſt any of thoſe prelates the arms, with which witchcraft and malice ſupplied them: the Gallican clergy employed them only againſt the people. The uſe made of them by the Engliſh clergy, againſt one of their principal members, demonſtrates either that the ſpirit of party was more violent in that kingdom than in France, or that the Engliſh believed more generally and more firmly in witchcraft than the French.

The freedom of thinking and reaſoning, afterwards introduced in England, has not cured even perſons of the beſt underſtanding of ſo abſurd a credulity. It diſcovers itſelf at every turn, in the memoirs of one of the moſt rational, wiſe, and ſenſible Engliſh writers: I mean, Sir Andrew Melvil, who wrote his memoirs in the reign of James the Firſt, whoſe revenues he had long ſuperintended; he has filled thoſe papers with ſtories of witches and ſorcerers, which he offers as authentic facts to a nation, no doubt, diſpoſed to believe them.

I have already ſpoken of the great practical fear which the Engliſh have of ghoſts, while they make a jeſt of them in theory. To the example of my landlord's ſon, which I have already mentioned, I ſhall join two more of a much higher rank: the celebrated Hobbes furniſhes me with one. He denied that there was in the univerſe any ſpirit, or ſubſtance diſtinct from matter: yet to ſuch a degree was he afraid of ſpirits, that he could not bear to be by

* See his panegyric in Matthew Paris, under the year 1253.

himſelf in a room with the door ſhut. Iſaac Voſſius, who became an Engliſhman by a reſidence of twenty years in that kingdom, joined to the ſuperciliouſneſs and preſumption of a freethinker, the credulity of an old woman. Full of doubts concerning revelation, he believed implicitly all the ſtories told by travellers, with regard to China and other foreign countries: "This learned doctor, ſaid Charles II. ſpeaking of Voſſius, is a very ſurprizing man; he believes every thing but the Bible."

Thus the change in the way of thinking of the Engliſh, with regard to an infinite number of objects, ſeems to have paid a reſpect to the moſt ridiculous prejudices, as being deeply rooted in the national character of that people. The blind enthuſiaſm of the three kingdoms for miracles, for the prophecies of the ſorcerer Merlin, and for all the pious and political revelations occaſioned by impoſture and intereſt, have been ſurvived by a ſervile attachment to a thouſand little ſuperſtitions, which Steele and Addiſon have to no purpoſe combated in the ſeventh paper of the Spectator.

In the very centre of London itſelf, ſuperſtition has a monument, which it never loſes ſight of, and which intereſts people of all ranks and orders in the ſtate. I mean, three poles, upon the tops of which were fixed the heads of three of the ringleaders, who, in 1746, ſided with the pretender. Theſe three poles, which are fifteen or twenty feet high, are placed at equal diſtances from each other upon Temple-bar; a gate built in the taſte of that of the old *Porte de la Conference* at Paris, and which ſeparates the city from the Strand. Several of the Engliſh appeared to me to have a perſuaſion, that the fall of each of the three heads will be the forerunner of ſome revolution in the ſtate. This prejudice

prejudice has gained ground by the fall of the head in the middle, which, at the time of the late king's death, was looſened, and dropped from the pole.

MADMEN AND LUNATICS.

THESE melancholy diſpoſitions, the good and ill conſequences of which upon Engliſh imaginations I have before related, produce a fatal effect upon thoſe in whoſe conſtitutions an exalted degree of melancholy is blended: this is the ſort of melancholy, which the Mahometans think has ſomething divine and ſupernatural, and which they reſpect in thoſe in whom it prevails: the great bent of the Engliſh to ſuicide is a branch of this diſorder.

Perſons troubled with this diſeaſe have ſeveral aſylums in London; the moſt conſiderable of which is Bedlam, one of the largeſt and fineſt buildings with which that capital is adorned. Before it ſtands an extenſive ſquare, which goes by the name of Moorfields. The uſe this edifice is intended for appears from two figures of the largeſt ſize, before the principal gate; one of theſe repreſents a perſon pining away with melancholy, and the other a man in a tranſport of the higheſt phrenzy. Theſe two figures, which may be juſtly compared to the nobleſt productions of Michael Angelo and his ſchool, are the works of Cibber, an Engliſh ſculptor, father to Cibber the player, who ſo long filled the place of poet laureat.

The city of London endowed this houſe, the funds of which have been increaſed, and do ſtill increaſe every day, by the generous donations of perſons, who, *mali non ignari, miſeris ſuccurrere diſcunt*. Theſe funds procure the patients the care, the tenderneſs, and all the attendance, which their helpleſs condition

tion requires. In a word, madmen and lunatics have in England the ſame right to the charity of their countrymen, as the blind have to that of the inhabitants of Florence, a city whoſe air is dangerous to the ſight.

In one of the viſits which I paid Bedlam hoſpital, I happened to enter a hall filled with women of different ages, who were dreſſed very neat and clean, and drinking tea together. The preſident of the aſſembly, who was the daughter of a French refugee, ſpoke French: ſhe immediately took me by the hand, and preſented me to the ſociety, forced me to drink a diſh of tea, and, with great humour, gave me the hiſtory of the madneſs of her companions: it was occaſioned either by love or religious enthuſiaſm. I took the liberty to enquire into the cauſe of her own madneſs: ſhe thereupon told me a long ſtory, by which I could diſcover nothing but a great affection for France, and a lively regret that it was not in her power to live and die there. Before I entered this hall, I enquired whether I could be there in ſafety; and was aſſured, that I could. This was the gayeſt and moſt noiſy of all the coteries I had ſeen in London.

From the bottom of the gallery joining to the room where theſe women were ſeated, there iſſued piercing and continued cries. Theſe were uttered by a handſome young woman, whoſe head was turned by one of the leaders of the new religious ſect, called Methodiſts. This unhappy creature put me in mind of a mad woman, whom, in the only viſit that I ever made to the Petites Maiſons at Paris, I ſaw brought thither, faſt bound. She had loſt her ſenſes by an accident which ſhe met with in child-bed, when ſeventeen years old. After all ſorts of remedies had been applied without effect, her father, her

mother, and her huſband, in tears, and uttering louder cries than ſhe herſelf, conſigned her to the cell, in which ſhe was then ſhut up. I never in my days beheld a more wretched and deplorable ſight.

One entire ward of Bedlam contains a row of large cells, in each of which was a poor unfortunate wretch, chained down in bed. Whilſt I was going round, one of the madmen, having diſengaged himſelf from his chains, leaped ſtark naked upon the back of the perſon that accompanied me, who was keeper of the ward. The keeper ſeized him by the arms, and carried him back to his cell, without giving him time to change his attitude.

One of theſe madmen, who were thus chained down, called out to me in French. When I went up to him, he aſked me news of Paris and Lewis XV. talked to me of the reſpect, which the Engliſh owe to their king; of that which the king owes to the law, which forbids him to condemn any one without firſt having granted him a legal hearing; and entered into a long converſation of the ſame nature with me, which did not in the leaſt ſurprize me, conſidering the condition he was in. If I had ſooner known what I afterwards learned, I ſhould have liſtened to him with greater attention. I ſhall here give the reader his hiſtory, as I heard it from the maſter of the ward; and I have forgot no circumſtance of it, but the date.

The king of England reſides in the queen's palace, at the farther end of the Mall in St. James's park. His majeſty received a letter, which threatened him with death, if he did not depoſit a ſum of money in a particular place: looking upon this letter as the jeſt of ſome madman, he gave himſelf but little concern about it. The term preſcribed

ſcribed by the letter being expired, a man dreſſed in a great coat came to the palace-door in a chair, at one o'clock at night. The chairman, by this perſon's orders, knocked at the porter's door, who lives in one of the offices adjoining to the palace. The porter roſe thereupon, and opened the door, though half aſleep. The man in the chair deſired to ſpeak to the king; and the porter telling him it was impoſſible, he leaped out of the chair, flew furiouſly at the man, threw him down, and hurried away towards the king's apartment. The porter recovered himſelf, came up to him, ſeized him by the collar, and, by his cries, alarmed the palace. The man was immediately ſeized, together with the chairmen, who waited at the gate. The latter, being examined with regard to what had paſſed, appeared to be innocent, and were diſmiſſed. The perſon whom they had carried, ſaid and did a thouſand extravagant things, which plainly ſhewed him to be a madman. The king was willing to conſider him in that light, and gave orders that he ſhould be confined in Bedlam.

This man was ſaid to be the ſon of a very rich citizen of London. After he had, in a ſhort time, ſquandered what money had been left him by his mother, and been diſinherited by his father, he had recourſe to the abovementioned expedient, to repair his ruined fortune. It is this ſort of gentry, that fill the roads with highwaymen. There are numbers of them in England, becauſe, as I have already obſerved, the Engliſh ſcarce ever obſerve a medium between the moſt profuſe prodigality, and the moſt ſcrupulous and exact œconomy. The contraſt between theſe two diſpoſitions is ſufficiently illuſtrated by the example which I have juſt cited, and by that of the old man who took the loſs of a lighted

match ſo much to heart: both the one and the other are determined by the force of the national character, which hurries on the Engliſh irreſiſtibly,

Quò juſſit ſplendida Bilis.

Such are the advantages and diſadvantages, the good and the evil, which reſult from the Engliſh character in its preſent ſtate; and in this ſtate, I doubt very much, whether the French, who affect a ſtrong paſſion for every thing Engliſh, would conſent to change condition and manners with that people.

REMEDY OF THESE EVILS.

IF any one ſhould deſire this change, it is the king of England, who no longer finds among his people that ſubmiſſion and dutiful docility which they paid to the Edwards and the Henry's. But in the days of thoſe princes the vine was cultivated in England*; all the ports of the kingdom were open to French, Spaniſh, and Italian wines; the monaſteries and the chapter-houſes had their cellars†; in a word, the juice of the grape was in ſuch general uſe, and the people, who are always in extremes, abuſed it to ſuch a degree, that king Henry ‡ V.

* The wine produced there might appear tolerable in thoſe ages, in which the kings of France were reduced to make uſe of the wine of Surene at their own tables.

† *Vinum ſacrificale de communi noſtro cellario volumus recipi.* Conſt. Capituli Saliſburgenſis, apud Cangium. "We are willing that the ſacred wine ſhould be taken out of our cellar."

‡ *Edicit proclamatione publicâ, ut nullus Anglicus vinum non lymphatum potare præſumat.* Elmham, vit. Henr. V. ibidem. "He ordered by public proclamation, that no Engliſhman ſhould preſume to drink wine, unleſs it was firſt diluted with water." I was informed at London, that, according to certain records ſtill to be ſeen amongſt the archives of the Exchequer, the Engliſh, having made themſelves maſters of Guienne, imported from Bourdeaux alone 20,000 hogſheads of wine every year.

Fifth,

by an expreſs law, forbid every Engliſhman to drink wine without water.

The revolutions of England were then conducted with a blind impetuoſity, and not with that ſpirit of conſiſtency, reflection, and combination, which, after having carried the rights and privileges of the nation as far as it could, keeps its ground, with a reſolution and foreſight, which nothing can alter nor relax, and which the contention of oppoſite parties increaſes, inſtead of diminiſhing.

We ſee in France itſelf the power, that a more or leſs extenſive uſe of wine has upon a nation. Our anceſtors regulated the affairs of ſtate over a bottle; but, at the ſame time, regulated themſelves ſo ill, that all their projects vaniſhed with the bottle, from whence they took their riſe. All that remained, after their conſultations, was a few ſongs, which little alarmed the government: the French were neither devoted to politics, nor a prey to vapours *.

Since a change in the national manners has baniſhed the abuſe, and, in proceſs of time, even the uſe

* Till the time of the regency inclusive, every Frenchman ſung, with the ſprightly Lainez:

J'aime à chanter, à rire, à boire,
Du reſte ne m'en parlez pas.
Toujours la gazette ou l'hiſtoire,
Les rois, les heros, et leur gloire,
Viennent troubler la douceur d'un repas.
J'aime à chanter, à rire, à boire:
Du reſte ne m'en parlez pas.

"I love the hours of life to paſs
In ſinging and the chearful glaſs;
In mirth and joy my life ſhall glide,
Then ſpeak to me of naught beſide.
I hate dull politics and cares,
All buſineſs and all ſtate affairs.
The fame of kings and chiefs deſtroys
The feaſt's exhilarating joys.
In mirth and play my life ſhall glide,
Then ſpeak to me of naught beſide."

of wine, Rabelais ſunk by Angola, by Mizapouf, &c. Pantagruel defeated by all the heroes in za, ze, zi, zo, zu, experience themſelves the great change of condition, which Epiſtemon obſerved in the other world, amongſt the moſt celebrated philoſophers and heroes of antiquity*; inſipid raillery, pitiful conundrums, dull metaphyſics, and plaintive elegies, have ſupplied the place of light converſation, amiable ſimplicity, ſprightly wit, Bacchanalian ſongs, and joyous parodies†: in fine, funeral urns, coffins, and melancholy cypreſs-boughs, are become faſhionable even in buildings of the moſt elegant taſte.

If this laſts—but it is contrary to the nature of things that it ſhould laſt: inconſtancy will recal us again to gaiety.

The exorbitant duties laid upon foreign wine in England, and eſpecially of French growth‡, have conſtrained that nation to have recourſe to thoſe domeſtic wines, of which I have ſpoken above; that is to ſay, to a ſort of liquor, which is but little palatable to thoſe that have a good taſte, and deſtructive to perſons, who, in the uſe of it, follow the impulſe of an inordinate appetite. On the other hand, French wine, before it is imported to England, pays duties in France, which, whilſt they lay a conſtraint upon its exportation, encourage the merchants of Picardy to increaſe the quantity by adulteration. It would be, notwithſtanding, worth while to let the Engliſh have it good in its kind, and in ſuch a quantity, as, leaving it to their diſcretion how to uſe it, might put

* Rabelais, l ii. c. 30.

† Some ſpeculatiſts aſcribe this revolution, in part, to the luxury which, prevailing amongſt people of all ranks, has rendered their minds a prey to inquietude, and the cares which are the conſtant concomitants of indigence.

‡ Theſe exorbitant duties are dated from the year 1690.

them

them upon the ſame footing they were on before the eſtabliſhment of the duties.

The œconomical and political intereſt of France conſpires with the perſonal intereſt of the king of England, to open afreſh the antient communication between the two kingdoms, which have ſometimes contrived to accommodate matters of much greater difficulty.

France has not a moment to loſe to put itſelf in a condition, by a reduction of the duties upon wines intended for Engliſh conſumption, of reſiſting a dangerous rivalſhip, which may ſhortly ariſe from the colonies of Carolina and Georgia. We are told, that in theſe two provinces, vines grow ſpontaneouſly in the midſt of the woods, and the planters have, for ſome time paſt, attached themſelves to the cultivation of them. All circumſtances concur on the part of England to encourage this cultivation: facility of tranſportation, certainty of ſale, exemption from duties, perquiſites and gratifications promiſed, as well by the public as by individuals. London has already received two hogſheads of this wine, which proved exceeding good; and people flattered themſelves, that, in a few years, Engliſh America would furniſh a moiety, at leaſt, of wine ſufficient for the conſumption of its metropolis.

The uſe of wine being reſtored in England, whether by France or America; the Engliſh grown more tractable and leſs ſpeculative, more gay, and leſs addicted to diſpute and wrangling, more friends to ſociety, and leſs ſaturnine, more ſubmiſſive, and leſs occupied with ſtate affairs, leſs profound in their ſpeculations, and more religious; the Engliſh, I ſay, will then have no fault to find with the change in their manner of living, unleſs they ſhould imitate that ridiculous Athenian, who, being cured by the

care

care of his friends of a hypochondriac diſorder, exclaimed,

Pol me occidiſtis, amici,
Dum demptus per vim mentis gratiſſimus error.

I obſerved, that the political intereſt of the king of England and the œconomical intereſt of France concur to reſtore the uſe of wine to Great-Britain. It would indeed be ſomewhat extraordinary, and I am not now able to clear up the point, if the heat of ſpirits in the people of England, and the violence of revolutions, had a gradual progreſſion proportioned to the increaſe of the duties upon wine.

I ſhall conclude with obſerving, that all I have been ſaying upon this ſubject is only a homily or commentary upon a maxim conſecrated by the authority of holy writ *.

WOMEN.

WOULD the fair ſex be gainers, if this maxim were to be obſerved in England? That ſex is, in its preſent ſtate, juſt ſuch as one could wiſh it to be, in order to form the felicity of wedlock. The ſhare which the women have in the ſeriouſneſs and melancholy of the nation, by rendering them ſedentary, attaches them to their huſbands, to their children, and the care of their houſes. They, for the moſt part, nurſe their own children themſelves; and this cuſtom, which gains ground every day, is a new tie of affection to the mothers.

This melancholy diſpoſition makes moſt young women in England, of the Roman Catholic perſuaſion, have an inclination to the convent. Thoſe in

* *Date vinum iis qui amaro ſunt animo, et bibant.* Proverbs, i. 31. "Give wine to thoſe that be of heavy hearts, let them drink."

whom this inclination is ſtrongeſt, croſs the ſeas, and repair to the nunneries in Flanders and France, into which they are received as boarders, upon the funds aſſigned in theſe ſtates, for the ſupport and encouragement of new converts to the Roman Catholic religion. Saint Omers is the chief town in Flanders for eſtabliſhments of this nature. Engliſh gentlemen, who paſs through this city in their travels, or who are excited to go over to ſee any of their relations among the nuns, are very kindly received by thoſe ladies. They are readily admitted into the cloiſters, where they have an opportunity of converſing with their countrywomen and relations, who avail themſelves of theſe converſations to attempt their converſion. In England itſelf there are ſome convents, which are made to paſs upon the public for boarding-ſchools: in theſe places, nuns are admitted to make their vows. Thoſe who have gone through this ceremony, being dreſſed ſimply and modeſtly, live in ſociety, perform all the exerciſes enjoined them by the rules of their order, and ſometimes go abroad, and viſit their families. I happened one day to dine in the country, with one of theſe ladies: in the evening I waited upon her home, with part of the company, to her convent, to which father de la Valette had been confeſſor during his reſidence in England.

I have cited ſome facts above, which prove that the Engliſh women are by no means indifferent about public affairs. Their intereſting themſelves in theſe, gives a new pleaſure to ſocial life: the huſband always finds at home ſomebody to whom he can open himſelf, and converſe as long and as earneſtly as he thinks proper, upon thoſe ſubjects which he has moſt at heart.

All appearances of intimacy between the two ſexes is dropped in public, at thoſe meals where perſons

ſons belonging to different families, meet: the women retire, ſoon after the cloth is taken away; the wine is then put upon the table, and the gueſts begin to enter upon converſation. The ladies accompany the miſtreſs of the houſe to her apartment; where they enter into a chit-chat by themſelves.

At the grand aſſemblies, play is the only thing that unites both ſexes. If they meet only to chat and converſe, the women, generally ſpeaking, place themſelves near the door, and leave the upper end of the apartment, and all the converſation, to the men.

At an aſſembly thus compoſed of both ſexes, a lady aſked me, whether I ſtill had many curioſities and objects of obſervation to viſit in London? I made anſwer, that there was ſtill one of great importance left for me to know, and that ſhe and her company could give me all the information I deſired: this was, whether, in England, the huſband or the wife governed the houſe? My queſtion being explained to all the ladies preſent, they diſcuſſed it, amuſed themſelves with it; and the anſwer which they agreed ſhould be returned to me was, that huſbands alone could reſolve me. I then propoſed it to the huſbands, who with one voice declared, that they durſt not decide.

The perplexity diſcovered by thoſe gentlemen gave me the ſolution I deſired. In fact, the Engliſh ladies and wives, with the moſt mild and gentle tone, and with an air of indifference, coldneſs, and languor, exerciſe a power equally deſpotic over both huſbands and lovers: a power ſo much the more permanent, as it is eſtabliſhed and ſupported by a complaiſance and ſubmiſſiveneſs from which they rarely depart *.

* *Hæc ſunt illarum veneficia.* "Theſe are their love potions." There are, notwithſtanding, in England noiſy and ſcolding wives. Mr. Tonneley, in the notes upon his tranſlation of Hudibras,

To

This complaiſance, this ſubmiſſion, and this mildneſs, are happy virtues of conſtitution, which nature has given them, to ſerve as a ſort of maſk to all that is moſt haughty, proud, and impetuous, in the Engliſh character.

To the gifts of nature, add the charms of beauty*; which is very common in England. With regard to graces, the Engliſh women have thoſe which accompany beauty, and not thoſe artificial graces that cannot ſupply its place; thoſe tranſient graces, which are not the ſame to-day as yeſterday; thoſe graces, which are not ſo much in the objects themſelves, as in the eye of the ſpectator, who has often found it difficult to diſcover them.

So ſenſible are the Engliſh ladies of their beauty, that they neglect their dreſs, and are little ſolicitous about adorning their perſons. A lady, when at home, generally wears a diſhabille ſuited to the œconomy of her houſe. If ſhe happens to make her appearance in a

gives us to underſtand, that, to correct theſe ſcolds, they are ſuſpended in a chair over a place full of water; and obliged to undergo the diſcipline of ducking. This chair, adds he, is called in Engliſh a *ducking-ſtool*. This bears a ſtrong reſemblance, and perhaps is juſt the ſame with the popular ſtory current in France, concerning the man, who, having plunged his wife in a well, for calling him a louſy fellow, kept her there half a foot under water. The ſtory adds, that, even in this condition, joining her thumbs together, ſhe continued to ſignify by a ſign, the abuſe which ſhe could no longer expreſs by words.

I have ſince found, in the ancient regulations of the police of Rouen, an expreſs law for the ducking of ſcolds: *Si fœmina convincatur eſſe litigioſa et maledica, alligabitur funè ſubtus aſcellas, et ter in aquam projicietur.* "If a woman be convicted of being quarrelſome and foul-mouthed, let a rope be tied under her arms, and then let her be three times ducked in water." *Charta comm. Rothom. Recueil des ordonnances par M. de Lauriere, tom.* i. *page* 308. Thus the ducking-ſtool may be conſidered as an expedient deviſed by Engliſh gallantry, to mitigate the rigour of the Norman law.

* Their fine bloom and complexion are owing, no doubt, to what has been mentioned, to the principles of vegetation and animal nutrition, peculiar to England.

morning

morning in St. James's park, it is in a ſhort gown, a long white apron and a hat, and ſhe is attended by a waiting-maid dreſſed as elegantly as herſelf.

At public aſſemblies diamonds and lace adorn the ſex, and then they make a diſtinguiſhed figure. The care of dreſſing, that of dreſſing the hair above all, is obſervable only in a ſmall number of ladies, who, thinking, no doubt, that they have occaſion for it, have reſolution enough to go through all the operations of the hair-dreſſer *.

The country life led by theſe ladies during great part of the year, and the freedom which accompanies that way of life, make them continue an agreeable negligence in dreſs, which never gives diſguſt.

At the trial of lord Byron, I ſaw only a few ladies dreſſed in the French taſte. All the reſt, decked in the fineſt manner with brocades, diamonds, and lace, had no other head-dreſs, but a ribband tied to their hair, over which they wore a flat hat, adorned with a variety of ornaments.

It requires much obſervation to be able to give a full account of the great effect produced by this hat: it affords the ladies who wear it that arch and roguiſh air, which the winged hat gives to Mercury; it animates their faces with a degree of vivacity, which is not natural to them. In the midſt of theſe hats, which filled Weſtminſter-hall, the heads of thoſe ladies, who were dreſſed according to the French faſhion, reſembled unfurniſhed houſes. No rouge was laid upon their faces: the rouge, which the French-women have, doubtleſs, borrowed from the antient Picts, has not yet croſſed the ſeas †.

* Were the author in London at this time, 1772, the number of theſe ladies would not appear to him to be ſmall. T.

† It were to be wiſhed, that the practice of our women of faſhion would verify this remark. T.

A good

A good ſhape is the moſt ſtriking article of Engliſh beauty, from which it is almoſt inſeparable: it is owing to the free and eaſy manner, with which the bodies of children of the preſent generation have been formed, and the little uſe made of ſwaddling-cloaths, or conſtraint of any ſort. Inſtead of that armour of whalebone, ſtill made uſe of in France, to put a force upon nature *, and which often quite ſpoils it, they uſe in England only a ſort of whalebone waiſt-coat, which juſt reaches to the breaſt, and has no other effect but that of keeping the body in a ſlight compreſſion. Two ribbands, from the fore to the hind-part, keep it on, without bridling or putting any conſtraint upon the ſhoulders. When in diſhabille, theſe ribbands generally falling upon the arms, the upper part of the body, diſengaged from all veſture and ligature, receives and is benefited by the overplus of nouriſhment, which the compreſſion of the lower part diſtributes to it †, whence reſults the eaſe and beauty of the ſhape.

Theſe ſtays are preciſely the *ceſtus*, which makes a part of the dreſs of the Grecian goddeſſes and virgins in antient monuments: this was the ſo much

* If we conſider how Bodin ſpeaks of it, in his Method of Hiſtory, chap. 5. we may preſume, that the uſe of theſe boddice, introduced at court by Catharine of Medici, and the women of Florence who came over with her, was eſtabliſhed at Paris about the middle of the ſixteenth century: *Verendum eſt ne is habitus fœminarum, quo* nunc *utuntur ad corporis formam venuſtiorem, efficiat ut partus anguſtiori thorace naſcantur, et, mutatâ formâ, pulmonici evadant.* "It is much to be feared, leſt the dreſs, which women now uſe upon account of their ſhape, ſhould make their children be born with a narrow cheſt, and this alteration in the natural figure ſhould render them aſthmatic and conſumptive."

† *Haud ſimiles ſunt virginum noſtrarum, quas matres ſtudent*
Demiſſis humeris eſſe, vincto pectore, graciles ut ſient.
"They are by no means like our girls, whom their mothers, by binding down their breaſts and arms, endeavour to make ſlender." Terent. Eun.

celebrated

celebrated girdle of Venus*. The needle-work with which this ceſtus was, generally ſpeaking, enriched, preſented to the view all that art could add to the moſt perfect and moſt ſeducing production of nature†.

The neck of an Engliſh lady, being neither ſqueezed nor compreſſed in its growth and increaſe, enjoys all the advantages of liberty; but by degrees ſhe abuſes it: and this abuſe is carried ſo much the farther, as it is, for the moſt part, formed upon the model of thoſe of Picardy: in both places, they equally anſwer the purpoſe intended by nature, and conſpire with her views.

The Engliſh ladies did not adopt that dreſs, which Catharine of Medici had introduced into France, in the form of a fiſhing-net. It compleatly enwrapped the whole body up to the chin: the neck itſelf was ſurrounded with a ruff. This dreſs ſoon became quite faſhionable with the women of Paris. This we learn from a fact related by father Niceron, in the life of Thomas Dempſter. "That writer, ſays father Niceron, having married about the year 1610, a woman of extraordinary beauty, came with her to Paris. One day, as he was walking with her through the ſtreets, they were ſurrounded by a crowd, which was drawn together by the dazzling beauty of the lady, who, according to the cuſtom of her country, diſplayed to the eye one of the fineſt boſoms in the univerſe, and ſhoulders which in whiteneſs vied with the driven ſnow. The crowd ſoon became ſo conſiderable, that the married couple were in danger of being ſtifled, and would infallibly have been ſo,

* Κεστὸν ἱμάντα ποικίλον, "the ceſtus, a variegated belt.

† Ὃ ἔκλεψε νόον πόκα πὲρ φρονεόντων, "which ſteals the hearts, even of the wiſe." Homer, Il. xiv.

if

if they had not quickly fled for refuge to the nigheſt houſes.

Even during the life-time of Catharine of Medici, the ladies of Florence had entirely laid aſide a dreſs, which was of little advantage to them: their new apparel was our preſent court habit. Queen Margaret had adopted it with eagerneſs, and Mary of Medici found the mode quite eſtabliſhed.

In England, the children of the other ſex enjoy from the cradle the ſame liberty: the people there do not diſtruſt nature with regard to their offspring; ſhe compleatly anſwers the confidence they place in her care and aſſiance. They are for the moſt part well-ſhaped, and there are very few deformed or hump-backed children to be ſeen in London. Struck with this extraordinary circumſtance, I examined the thing ſtill more cloſely, and endeavoured to trace it out; but to no purpoſe. When I happened to be walking in ſome remote quarter of the town, one or other of my acquaintance, ſurprized to ſee me there, aſked me what I was in queſt of? A hump-backed man, anſwered I; but I cannot find one.

Alas! replied a Roman Catholic one day, in anſwer to this pleaſantry of mine, how many hump-backed people, deformed creatures, and cripples, are there in the ſight of God! And continuing to walk with me, he talked in the moſt melancholy ſtrain of the multitude of ſects, which overſpread England, ſince the time that God, to puniſh the inſtability of its inhabitants in matters of religion, has given them up to the intemperance of their curioſity, the raſhneſs of their diſputes, and all the violence of their natural temper.

I had already ſeen ſome of theſe ſects at the reſpective meetings, where government tolerates their

different ſorts of worſhip. I ſhall here give an account of what moſt ſtruck me in each of them.

TOLERATION.

AS I was born, and had lived the greateſt part of my life in a country, where diſputes ſcarcely intelligible, concerning the metaphyſical diſtinctions of the moſt ſublime theology, have given riſe to irreconcileable enmities between churchmen, lawyers, and even merchants *; at each ſtep I walked in London, I, with the utmoſt aſtoniſhment, ſaw conſtant proofs of the mutual toleration, which there prevails amongſt all ſects.

They ſeem to have taken for the rule of their conduct the verſes, in which the learned Barlæus repreſents all, who believe the ſame God, as brethren †.

Some people conſider the oppoſite conduct to this, as a remnant of Judaiſm; of which religion it was the chief characteriſtic, in the eye of the Romans ‡.

The Jews had caught this ſpirit in Egypt, which the Egyptians retained ſtill in the reign of Nero, and

* *Hi motus animorum atque hæc certamina tanta*
Pulveris exigui jactu compreſſa quieſcunt.
"Theſe violent emotions of paſſion and theſe terrible contentions are at reſt, and lie ſtill, upon the throwing of a little duſt."

† *Cunctorum eſt coluiſſe Deum; non unius ævi,*
Non populi unius credimus eſſe Deum.
Si ſapimus diverſa, Deo vivamus amici,
Puraque mens pretio conſtet ubique ſuo.
"All men ſhould worſhip God; we do not believe God to belong in particular to one age or people. Though we are of different perſuaſions, let us all live friends to God, and let the pure mind have every where its due worth."

‡ *Non monſtrare vias eadem niſi ſacra colenti,*
Quæſitum ad fontem ſolos deducere verpos.
"Would not ſhew a man his way were he of a different perſuaſion, or direct to a well any but the circumciſed."

which

which occaſioned ſcenes as intereſting to the actors, as diverting to the ſpectators *.

The perſecuting ſpirit reached even to Siberia. M. de Gmelin, travelling through that country in 1753, found it eſtabliſhed amongſt part of the inhabitants of Niewjauſkoi, who aſſume the name of Old Believers. "To drink brandy is, in their opinion, the greateſt of all crimes: but when they have once yielded to the temptation, they deſpair of being ſaved, and drink it in public, and with every comer; yet they take particular care to drink only out of their own cup, which they never quit: the ſin of ebriety, though ſo very horrible in their eyes, appears to them to be nothing in compariſon, of what they would think themſelves guilty of, were they to drink out of the ſame cup with one who profeſſed the Greek religion."

The Royal-Exchange of London is, as it were, the throne of toleration; no nation is there conſidered as foreign, no individual is excommunicated: none are there looked upon as heretics, but bankrupts and cheats.

The pariſh dues are equally levied upon all, who live within the extent of the pariſh, without diſtinction, either of religion or ſect.

The church of England baptizes all that offer, marries all, buries all, ſomewhat dearly indeed, but without diſturbing the public tranquillity by impertinent enquiries: it conſiders conſcience, as depending immediately upon God: it makes itſelf all things

* See the whole 14th ſatyr of Juvenal.

——— *Nummus utrinque*
Inde furor vulgo quod numina vicinorum
Odit uterque locus, cum ſolos credat habendos
Eſſe deos, quos ipſe colit.

to all men, like the good curate of Eſchillais, ſo naturally deſcribed by D'Aubigné*.

I one day happened to paſs through St. James's church, at a time when ſeveral of the lower claſs of people were marrying. He that was going to be tied with the nuptial knot, juſt as I entered, preſented himſelf, in his turn, to the parſon, and made a thouſand difficulties to kneel down before him, upon a ſort of mat. Having, at laſt, placed himſelf upon it, he laughed in the face of the clergyman all the time that the latter was reading prayers over him out of the liturgy. I aſked the reaſon of his being guilty of this piece of ill-manners; and the perſon I enquired of anſwered coldly, "The man muſt, doubtleſs, be a diſſenter."

In learned or political ſocieties, in clubs, and at pub-aſſemblies, religion is no way conſidered: the ſame bench, the ſame row of chairs, often unites five or ſix different ſects, mixed with perſons who have no particular connection with any ſect; and all theſe live together with a harmony and cordiality, which are ſeldom to be met with in an aſſembly of divines of the ſame communion.

In the public ſtreets, the Catholic ſhews the Quaker, the Quaker the Preſbyterian, and the Preſbyterian the Anabaptiſt, the place where thoſe of his ſect have their meetings; and this coolly, politely, and without ſhewing any ſigns of indignation, contempt, or pity.

The ſtage makes all theſe ſects equally contribute to the amuſement of the public. It proceeds in the road, which was opened to it by the celebrated Shakeſpeare. Even the clergy of the church of England themſelves are not ſecure from this licentiouſneſs: if an eccleſiaſtic is brought upon the ſtage, it

* Confeſſ. de Sancy, l. ii. c. 2. Baron de Feneſte, l. iv. c. 8.

is

is to make him act the part of a ſot, a drunkard, a go-between, &c.

Superſtition is an enemy to toleration; an enemy, which neither the Reformation, nor freedom of thinking, have been able to baniſh entirely from England. The old prejudice againſt witchcraft and ſorcerers ſtill ſubſiſts in ſome parts of the kingdom. In 1750 the inhabitants of the county of Hertford, with great ſolemnity, put an old woman to death, whom they looked upon as a witch.

What an influence muſt this prepoſſeſſion have had upon the imagination of the Engliſh, when ſupported by the concurrence of two powers; by the ſight of the faggots, into which numbers of pretended ſorcerers were every day thrown; by the ſermons and other writings of men, who, being divines by profeſſion, appeared to be ſo much ſuperior to the deluſion!

In a work printed at Venice in 1576, with additions, under the title of *Malleus Maleficarum*, "The Mallet of the Witches," a grave Doctor, James Sprenger, *ordinis prædicatorum inquiſitor clariſſimus*, "moſt illuſtrious inquiſitor of the order of preachers," amongſt a multitude of magical facts, in ſupport of each of which he mentions the perſons whom he cauſed to be burned, ſpeaks of one in particular, whom the reader will find at the bottom of the page, in the very words of the author *,

* Chap. vii. queſt. 1. entitled, *De modo quo membra virilia auferre ſolent*, concerning the manner in which they carry off the privy members of men, the author adds as a proof: *in oppido Ravenſpurg, juvenis quidam juvenculæ adhæſit, quam relinquere volens, membrum virile perdidit, ita ut nihil videre aut tangere præter planum corpus poſſit.* "In the city of Ravenſburg, a young man clung faſt to a young girl, whom, when he was deſirous of quitting, he loſt his privy member, ſo that he could neither ſee nor touch any thing but his ſmooth body." By the advice of an old woman, he forced the miſtreſs, whom he had quitted, to reſtore it to him. A Dom ni-

THE ROMAN CATHOLICS.

THE Engliſh place the Papiſts at the head of the Non-conformiſts: this is the ſect, which they dread moſt of all. The Roman Catholics, notwithſtanding, enjoy as much liberty in England, as the Chriſtians had under the moſt tolerating heathen emperors. Beſides the chapels of the Roman Catholic ambaſſadors, in which the whole ſervice is performed with ſinging, wax-tapers, organs, &c. they have ſome private chapels in London, which are winked at by the government. I have already obſerved, that they have even houſes for nuns. They have alſo biſhops, who are known to be ſuch by all England. The biſhop of London is of the illuſtrious houſe of Talbot. I have heard the archbiſhop of Canterbury ſay, that there is likewiſe a Roman prelate of his dioceſe, who performs all the functions of archbiſhop, in oppoſition

can of the convent of Spire, *honeſtate vitæ & ſcientiâ præclarus*, "illuſtrious for his virtuous life and profound knowledge," related an event of a ſimilar nature, which he had heard from a young man who confeſſed to him, and that with the more certainty, as he was convinced of the incantation, *per viſum, nihil cernendo, cum juvenis, veſtes detegendo, l'cum demonſtrâſſet*, "by his eyes, ſeeing nothing, when the young man, taking off his cloaths, ſhewed him the place;" and afterwards by the cure, which he obtained through his advice, and which he convinced himſelf of, *experientiâ viſûs certificatus denuò*. "Being again certified by the teſtimony of his ſenſes." In another, the cure was ſtill more wonderful than the witchcraft: *cum quidam, qui membrum perdiderat, quamdam maleficam ſanitatis recuperandæ cauſâ, acceſſiſſet, illa ut quamdam arborem aſcenderet, infirmo injunxit, et ut de nido in quo erant plurima membra ſuum acciperet; et cum ille magnum quoddam recipere attentâſſet: Non, ait malefica, illud accipias; et ut unum ex plebanis attingeret ſubjunxit.* "When a certain perſon, who had loſt his privy member, ſent for a witch, in order to try by her means to recover it, ſhe ordered the patient to climb up a tree, and to take his own member out of a neſt, in which there were ſeveral; and when he attempted to take a large one; Don't take that, ſaid the witch, bidding him, at the ſame time, take one of the common ſort."

to

to him; and that he knows him, but they very ſeldom meet.

The only privileges of which Roman Catholics have been deprived, are thoſe of ſitting in parliament, and poſſeſſing the firſt places and dignities in the ſtate. They enjoy all the other rights of citizens, both actively and paſſively, as well as the conſideration annexed to birth and riches. The caſe of the duke of Norfolk, who is the firſt peer of England, is a ſtanding proof of the rigour of thoſe laws, which exclude from parliament all ſuch noblemen as refuſe to take the oaths of allegiance to the government: that nobleman has neither vote nor ſeat in the ſupreme court of the nation; yet he is the firſt member of it by his title and dignity.

The firſt oath, the moſt antient of all, and that which the Roman Catholics think the hardeſt, is the oath of allegiance; but it is difficult for a Frenchman to diſcover the venom which they ſo much dread; as it has no power, except upon thoſe that are blindly enſlaved to all the old prejudices of the court of Rome. This oath was deviſed, and firſt introduced, after the famous plot called Gun-powder treaſon *, as an antidote to all the falſe principles, which the authors, the promoters, the divines, and all the writers of the league againſt Henry the Fourth, had preached, propagated, and followed, concerning the authority of ſovereigns. Theſe ſanguinary principles, conſecrated by the famous bull *in cœnâ Domini*, occaſioned all the anathemas launched at Henry the Fourth and queen Elizabeth; they had been the ſource of

* It was in commemoration of this conſpiracy, that the populace of London every year, on the fifth of November, burned the pope in ceremony; as at Paris, the inhabitants of the quarters of St. Dennis and St. Martin burned the Swiſs of the Street aux Ours. Both theſe ceremonies were aboliſhed about the ſame time.

all the rebellions formed againſt thoſe two great monarchs; they were the torch that kindled the war, which Paul the Fifth declared againſt the republic of Venice.

The oath of allegiance affirms, in oppoſition to theſe principles, that the pope neither has in his own right, nor by any title or means whatever, any juſt claim to the crown and dominions of ſovereigns; that he cannot diſpoſe of them; that he cannot arm ſubjects againſt their prince; in a word, that it is falſe, that thoſe kings, whom he has excommunicated, may be juſtly depoſed or aſſaſſinated, &c.

Paul the Fifth condemned this oath, by two briefs: Cardinal Bellarmine, examining every point of it, in a tract publiſhed in another perſon's name, made uſe of no other argument againſt it, but the pope's authority over the temporalities of kings; in fine, cardinal du Perron, in his famous ſpeech to the ſtates of Paris in 1614, availed himſelf of this very oath, to eſtabliſh the maxims of the court of Rome upon the ruins of the Gallican church.

King James the Firſt defended the oath, which was his own * work, againſt all theſe attacks. He publiſhed an apology againſt Paul the Fifth and Bellarmine; and oppoſed the ſpeech of du Perron, by a declaration of his ſentiments concerning the rights of kings, and the independency of their crowns. Theſe two works, dedicated to all the potentates of Europe, fill two hundred and forty pages in twelves; and there appeared at London an edition of them in

* See the account of this important diſpute, and the works, which it occaſioned, annexed to the life of Burhill, which makes part of the Memoirs of Father Niceron, t. xxii. page 257. The Jeſuits interpoſed: Martin Becan and Eudæmon-Johannes, doughty champions in controverſy, laid open, in virulent tracts againſt kings and regal power, the favourite maxims of their ſociety.

French

French. They contain all that was ever ſaid in France upon that important ſubject by, the Dumenils, the Pithous, the de Thous, the Servins, &c.* When we trace this affair to its firſt principles, there remains a difference ſcarce ſenſible between the oath of ſupremacy of the Engliſh, and the four articles determined by the clergy of France in 1682; between the apology for the oath by king James, and the defence of the four articles by the great biſhop of Meaux; between the motives of oppoſition to the oath, made by the popes and the catholics who are under their immediate protection, and the reaſons by which the four articles have been conſtantly oppugned by the Jeſuits, and their moſt faithful adherents.

An implicit attachment to the pope, as well in practice as ſpeculation, is the firſt article of faith with the Engliſh Catholics: they think in this reſpect as their anceſtors, when they ſubmitted to pay Peterpence. The Jeſuits and their diſciples encourage them in this zealous attachment to the court of Rome, by works drawn up with that intention, and printed under their inſpection at Doway. The Roman Breviary, which all the biſhops of France have abrogated in their dioceſes, is their Bible and their Goſpel: they religiouſly obſerve all the feſtivals marked in the rubric of this Breviary, and theſe make very near a third part of the year. To the faſts which it appoints, they add others of ſupererogation: thus it is cuſtomary with them to faſt every Friday. The life they lead is not, however, ſo auſtere as that which the Reformation introduced into the Engliſh manners: if in England we ſeek for gaiety, gal-

* England, at the very time of its greateſt ſubjection to the popes, had its liberties, the ſupporting of which depended upon the meaſures taken by its kings, &c. See the 69th letter of Peter de Blois, and the notes upon the edition of 1667.

lantry,

lantry, and what in France, is called the tone of good company, we ſhould look for them chiefly amongſt the Catholics: thus, in their excluſive principles, with regard to heaven, they go merrily to Paradiſe, whilſt their heretical countrymen, according to their notions, lag on ſadly to hell. They retained a ſociable ſpirit amidſt the flames of civil war: the Cromwellians, and all the new-light folks, who, having renounced the ſocial virtues, called themſelves *Roundheads*, looked upon the Catholics in the light of beaus and petit-maitres, and gave them the appellation of *Cavaliers*.

The latter are governed and directed, throughout the three kingdoms, by Catholic prelates, who are appointed by the church of Rome; and, above all, by Jeſuits, who often raiſe diſturbances in the midſt of the Catholic flock. The Janſeniſm of France derives its ſource from a book publiſhed under the fictitious name of *Petrus Aurelius*, in oppoſition to the pretenſions, which theſe fathers made in England, to a right of adminiſtering confirmation concurrently with the Catholic biſhops.

At the ſame time, the Iriſh Catholics, who had taken arms in favour of Charles the Firſt, ſuddenly fell upon the Engliſh, ſettled in the different provinces of Ireland*. This revolution, which began in 1640, was ſtill ſupported in 1649, and became the firſt object of Cromwell's ſolicitude, who, croſſing over to that kingdom at the head of an army, eſtabliſhed his authority upon the ruins of the royal party.

* Sir John Temple makes the number of Proteſtants maſſacred in this rebellion amount to three hundred thouſand. The abbé Ma-Geoghegan has endeavoured to apologize for this maſſacre in his Hiſtory of Ireland; but he makes uſe of the ſame arguments, which were urged in France, in vindication of the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew.

The common intereſt, which had armed the Catholics, ſhould have preſerved union among them; but private advantages, oppoſite views, and the antipathy between the Jeſuits and other monks, kept up factions and diviſions amongſt them, which facilitated the ſucceſs of Cromwell's expedition.

There is ſtill extant a monument of this diviſion, in a manifeſto of the Cordeliers, printed in Latin at Paris in 1650*, againſt the Jeſuits and the biſhop of Fermo, the pope's nuncio in Ireland: by agreement with theſe fathers, the nuncio returned to Rome, after having excommuncated all the Iriſh Catholics that had entered into a negociation with the duke of Ormond, who treated for Charles the Firſt.

This diviſion, ſupported and fomented by the inquiſition and by Albizzi, the ſoul of that tribunal, and agent of the Jeſuits, favoured the views of Cromwell; left none to oppoſe him but the excommunicated, who were headed by Inchiquin; and kept in inaction the jeſuitical party, commanded by Eugene O Neal, who, at laſt, entered into an accommodation with Cromwell, and delivered up to him the province of Munſter.

This intelligence with the uſurper occaſioned the reproaches, which fill the 20th and the following

* With this title: *Vindiciarum Catholicorum Hiberniæ libri* II. *quorum* I. *rerum in Heb. geſtarum ab anno* 1640 *ad ann.* 1649, *veriſſimam et actorum publicorum fide munitam ſynopſin:* II. *Libelli famoſi in Catholicos Hiberniæ proceres qui honeſtiſſimam cum regiæ partis hominibus pacem inierunt, accuratam confutationem continet. Auctore Philopatre Irenæo ad Alitophilum.* "Two books of the vindication of the Iriſh Catholics, the firſt of which contains an abridgement of the hiſtory of the Iriſh affairs from the year 1640 to the year 1649, ſtrictly true, and confirmed by public acts: and the ſecond of which contains an accurate refutation of the infamous libels againſt the Catholic nobles of Ireland, who concluded a moſt honourable peace with thoſe of the royal party. The author Philopater Irenæus to Alitophilus." The firſt part contains three hundred pages, and the ſecond, two hundred and thirty-ſix, in Elzevir types.

chap-

chapters of the Cordeliers manifeſto: a piece more valuable, with reſpect to hiſtory, as no writer on the ſubject, Father Orleans * himſelf not excepted, has condeſcended to relate the facts therein ſpecified †.

If this manifeſto had been known to the French refugee, who, in a libel publiſhed in Holland in 1691, with the title of *Memoirs of the life of James the Second*, declared, and maintained, that the condemnation, baniſhment, and excommunication of Charles the Firſt, were brought about by the Jeſuits, and that a Jeſuit was the executioner of that prince ‡; he, without doubt, would not have failed to join to the details with which he ſupports this anecdote, thoſe paſſages in the work of the Cordeliers, which diſcover the intelligence eſtabliſhed between Cromwell and the Iriſh under the influence of the Jeſuits.

The Catholics of England at preſent enjoy a profound peace, both within and without. For this they are indebted to that national ſpirit, which has at laſt convinced them, that a perſecuting diſpoſition gives riſe to a thouſand ills; and that men impoſe upon themſelves, when they expect any good from it. An Engliſh Jeſuit happening, ſoon after his arrival from Rome, to be in company with the earl of Cheſterfield, manifeſted to that nobleman the moſt ardent

* He only ſays, in book 10, under the year 1655, that Cromwell ſhewed leſs averſion to the Catholics, than to the Epiſcopalians, which their authors greatly complain of; that the Jeſuits never hurt the Reformation more, nor brought over more proſelytes to the Church of Rome, than under his government.

† The abbé Ma-Geoghegan, in his Hiſtory of Ireland, vol. iii. p. 676, and the following, cites the Vindiciæ; but he confines himſelf to ſome facts relative to the Catholic confederacy: he omits all the diviſions which rendered it abortive, the cauſes of thoſe diviſions, and, above all, the abſurd proceedings of the legate and the Jeſuits.

‡ See the article *King*, farther on.

zeal

zeal for religion, and a determined reſolution to do and ſuffer any thing in ſo good a cauſe: "The time is paſt, anſwered the wiſe lord; it is to no purpoſe for you to aſpire to the honour of martyrdom; fire and faggot are quite out of vogue." I have already obſerved, that the Engliſh are at preſent ſo little afraid of the Jeſuits, who were ſo formidable to them in the laſt century, that they would be glad to ſee all the members of that ſociety, who were baniſhed from France and other countries, go over to England.

If de la Fontaine had ſeen England and Italy, he would, doubtleſs, have rectified the memoirs, which he has left us concerning the countries of Papefigue and Papimanie. Papefigue is called, ſays he,

L'iſle & province, ou les gens autrefois
Firent la figue au portrait du S. Pere:
Punis en ſont: rien chez eux ne proſpere.—
L'iſle fut lors donnée en appanage
A Lucifer; c'eſt ſa maiſon des champs.

"The iſle and province, the inhabitants of which formerly made mouths at his holineſs's picture; they are puniſhed for it: nothing ſucceeds or proſpers with them.—The iſland was then given to Lucifer as an eſtate; his country-houſe ſtands upon it."

By means of memoirs more authentic, Molza, who was at the fountain-head of information, has made the panegyric of excommunication *. According to him, God, to ſhew his contempt for worldly things, gives them to the excommunicated.

It in fact appears, that England has found, in the excommunication under which it lives, and in the interdict which it has obſerved but too well †, the ſource of that opulence, ſplendor, and power, to

* *Capitolo in lode della Eſcommunica.*

† D'Orleans's Hiſtory of the Revolutions of England, book ix.

which

which it has attained by degrees; as well as that of liberty, which is its moſt firm ſupport.

The majeſty of the kings of England would have remained more inviolable, ſaid the great Boſſuet, if, ſatisfied with its own ſacred prerogatives, it had not endeavoured to appropriate to itſelf the rights and authority of the church *. In vain did they think of ſtill preſerving the affections of their ſubjects by retaining epiſcopacy: of what conſequence are biſhops, who have themſelves annihilated their authority †?

In the opinion of Boſſuet, the church of England was the firſt of thoſe ſects, into which that kingdom was ſplit: yet the retaining of the epiſcopal dignity diſtinguiſhed it from the reſt, and with this advantage, that it had, according to Boſſuet himſelf, a *ſucceſſion*, and, as that ſucceſſion had its *ſource in pope Gregory and the monk Auguſtin, his diſciple, the firſt apoſtle of the Engliſh nation.*

M. Boſſuet has thus, by anticipation, decided the grand queſtion ſince broached, concerning the validity of Engliſh ordinations; but whilſt he traces the ſource of their ſucceſſion no higher than to pope Gregory, he ſeems to have forgot the mention made by St. Athanaſius of the Engliſh biſhops, who aſſiſted at the council of Sardica; and the miſſion of St. Germain d'Auxerre and St. Loup de Troyes, who

* That authority gives them the rights annexed to the title of *Pontifex Maximus* amongſt the Romans: a title, which was retained by the Chriſtian emperors till the reign of Gratian. The exerciſe of this authority appears extraordinary, in ſeveral points, to eyes accuſtomed to the ſacerdotal power. Theſe ſee, with aſtoniſhment, James the Firſt granting a ſpecial commiſſion to diſpenſe an archbiſhop of Canterbury, accuſed of murder, from the penance ordained by the church. Rymer, tom. xvii. p. 337 and 339. George the Firſt publiſhed, as ſupreme head of the church, a proclamation againſt Socinianiſm, which was beginning to prevail in that church, &c.

† Funeral oration of the queen of England.

went

went over to England in the fifth century: it is true, theſe prelates had their miſſion, not from the pope, but from the clergy of France.

The miſſion of the monk Auguſtine in England contained the ſeeds of the right ſince claimed by the popes, of governing the whole church by miſſionaries or ſimple vicars. Gregory VII. and Boniface VIII. whilſt they left the biſhops the name and external honours of epiſcopacy, looked upon them as mere delegates, whom they might change when they thought proper: and the biſhops, affected only by the preſent advantage, whilſt they took the benefice with all the duties annexed to it, hugged the chain, which Rome prepared for them. This *arcanum imperii*, this ſecret of the government has diſcovered itſelf openly in the laſt centuries, by the authority which the popes have at length eſtabliſhed over the churches of China, Japan, Holland, &c. governing them immediately by ſimple miſſionaries; a government which is become the ſource of ſcandal between eccleſiaſtics of different orders diſperſed up and down in the miſſions, whoſe miſunderſtanding made perhaps part of the *arcanum imperii*; a government, which has annihilated Chriſtianity in Japan, where it would have maintained its ground, if the church of Japan had been eſtabliſhed upon the foundations laid by the apoſtles, and adminiſtered by national biſhops; but Rome could not put the ſame confidence in theſe biſhops, which ſhe placed in the Jeſuits.

Again, Boſſuet, in placing the converſion of England to Chriſtianity no higher than the age of St. Gregory and his delegate, followed the path traced out by Stapleton, who publiſhed, in 1566, a large work, ſince tranſlated into Latin, with the title of *Propugnaculum Fidei*, to prove the orthodoxy of the primitive faith of England, the eſtabliſhment of which

which he fixes at the miſſion of the delegate of St. Gregory.

But this is all one as to attribute the firſt origin of the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity in France to the connections of Pepin and Charlemagne with the popes, who from thence derived an immediate influence upon the Gallican church; it had till then been independent, like the church of England. If Stapleton had thought proper to trace the matter any higher, the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians of England opened a fair field for him. According to theſe writers, the origin of Chriſtianity reached as far back as King Lucius, contemporary of the apoſtles; which, in their apprehenſion, inſures to the Britiſh kings the title of eldeſt ſon of the church: ſome have even gone ſo far as to maintain, that St. Peter and St. Paul preached the goſpel there in perſon; whilſt the preſent Engliſh affirm, that St. Peter never ſaw Rome, and that he neither preached nor held his ſeat there: to ſuch extremes are men led, both by belief and incredulity *.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

THE church of England, ſeveral times reformed, purified by the flames of the moſt cruel perſecutions, ſacrificed with Charles I. its intrepid defender, and reſtored with the regal power by Charles II, does not, either in its dogmas or its liturgy, bear an exact reſemblance to any of the communions which have ſeparated from the church of Rome: it has nothing in common with them, but its antipathy to the biſhop of Rome; an antipathy as great, and perhaps as unreaſonable, as the voluntary ſlavery, in which it long lived under the popes.

* *Periculoſum eſt credere et non credere.* "It is dangerous, both to believe and not to believe."

This

This religion has an illuſtrious teſtimony in its favour, that of Charles I. who, when priſoner at at Holmby; when he foreſaw the fatal ſentence, which was to be pronounced againſt him by his enemies; when, in fine, he was ready to appear before the throne of God, ſaid, in the laſt advice which he gave the prince of Wales his ſon: "I can affirm to you with truth, that I have carefully examined the eſtabliſhed religion of the church of England. After much inveſtigation and long diſcuſſions, I have at laſt come to a concluſion, that this was the moſt perfect ſyſtem of religion in the world, not only in general as a form of Chriſtianity; but in particular, as being a reformed religion, holding a medium between the pomp of a ſuperſtitious tyranny, and the meanneſs of a fantaſtic anarchy *."

The preſent heads of the church of England, that is to ſay, the two archbiſhops and the twenty-four biſhops who govern it, have retained only a part of the revenue formerly annexed to their ſees: thus have they, at leaſt, in that reſpect, loſt conſiderably by ſeparating from the church of Rome: this certainly could not have been foreſeen by thoſe prelates, who firſt endeavoured to bring about or conſented to this ſeparation; or, if they foreſaw it, they ſacrificed the intereſts of their ſee and of their ſucceſſors, to the temptation offered by the ſpoils of the Catholics.

The Engliſh prelates are, however, far from the ſtate of poverty, which the church of Africa impoſed upon its biſhops as a law †, and from the in-

* Εἰκὼν βασιλικὴ, towards the end.

† *Epiſcopus non longe ab eccleſiâ hoſpitiolum, vilem ſupellectilem et menſam ac pauperem victum habeat, et dignitatis ſuæ auctoritatem fide ac meritis quærat.* Con. Carth. 4, & Decret. Dieſt. 41. Can. Epiſcopus & Clericus. "Let the biſhop have a little houſe, not far from the church, humble furniture, and a frugal table, and let him endeavour to acquire dignity by virtue and good works."

digent condition, in which the primate of Cappadocia, Basil the great, despised the menaces of the emperor's officers to seize his temporalities *.

Since the separation from Rome, English bishoprics were become the rewards of merit; that is to say, the kings of England, without having any regard to birth, conferred them on the greatest preachers, and on men most eminent for learning, or for their labours in the vineyard. This regulation in the choice of persons did not establish between the superior and inferior clergy those distinctions †, which, keeping them at a distance from each other, extinguish that emulation to which the church has, in all ages and countries, been indebted for the prelates, who edified, instructed, or defended it. An easy intercourse between the two orders banishes all affected manners and tone of superiority, as well as that haughtiness natural to men who think themselves born to exercise an unbounded sway over their slaves.

The historian of the university of Oxford observes, with regard to the famous George Abbot, archbishop of

* Εἴγε οὐσίαν μὲν οὐκ ἔχω, ῥάκος τε καὶ βιβλία ὀλίγα. "If I have but little substance and few books." Sozom. l. vi. c. 16. St. Basil was, in this respect, what the latter kings of Cappadocia were, of whom Horace said: *Mancipiis locuples æget æris Cappadocum rex.* "The king of Cappadocia, rich in slaves, with little money."

† These distinctions put us in mind of the country of Papefiguiere, where the lord says to his vassal, with a great deal of stately gravity:

Va, fais vite et travaille,
Manant, travaille, et traville, vilain:
Travailler est le fait de la canaille.
Ne t'attends pas que je t'aide un seul brin,
Ne que par moi ton labeur se consomme.
Je t'ai ja dit que j'etois gentilhomme,
Ne pour chommer et pour ne rien savoir.

‡ "Go, be expeditious; work, you dog; work, you rogue: to toil and labour is the business of the rabble. Do not expect, that I shall give you the least assistance, nor that your work shall be forwarded by me. I have already told you, that I was a gentleman, born to keep holiday, and live in ignorance and idleness."

Canterbury,

Canterbury, that he was ſo harſh to the inferior clergy, as to make them all his enemies. This ſeverity, adds the hiſtorian, had its ſource in the ſudden promotion of Abbot, who, not having paſſed through the lower benefices with cure of ſouls, did not know how great a work it is to ſuperintend a flock, and what indulgence is due to faults, which, in a buſineſs of ſuch importance, muſt eſcape the beſt-meaning men.

Learning and merits; altogether foreign to the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, have often in England procured firſt-rate benefices to men, who have filled them with diſtinction. Seth Ward made himſelf known only by a few treatiſes of aſtronomy, when in 1662 he was nominated to the biſhoprick of Exeter: he died in 1689 biſhop of Saliſbury, and chancellor of the order of the garter. Dr. Samuel Clarke had publiſhed, in 1697, an Engliſh tranſlation of Rohault's phyſicks; and in 1707, at the deſire of Sir Iſaac Newton, a Latin tranſlation of Newton's opticks: theſe tranſlations, which are in high eſteem among the Engliſh, procured him the rectorſhip of St. James's, which he held many years.

Francis the firſt and Henry the ſecond had, in France, obſerved the ſame method in the diſtribution of benefices, and it greatly contributed to the ſplendour of their reigns. Peter du Chaſtel owed, to his extenſive knowledge of Greek and Latin literature, the biſhoprics of Tulles, of Macon and of Orleans, which he held ſucceſſively, and finally the dignity of Great Almoner. Primatice, who firſt introduced the art of painting into France, was recompenſed with the Abbey of St. Martin-es-Aires de Troyes. Philibert de Lorme, to whom French architecture is indebted for its moſt elegant ornaments, poſſeſſed the united abbies of St. Eloi de Noyon, and St. Sere of Angers. Amyot owed the abbey of Beloſanne to Daphnis and Chloe, as alſo to Theagenes and Chariclea, which he had

publiſhed in French: his tranſlation of Plutarch's works procured him the abbey of St. Cornelius of Compiegne, the biſhopric of Auxerre, and the dignity of Great Almoner of France. The men whom I have above mentioned, were indebted to their works for their temporal ſucceſs; and their names are, to this day, the chief ornaments in the liſts of abbots and biſhops, among whom they made ſo ſhining a figure.

In the diſtribution of great benefices, the court of England begins now to ſhew a regard for birth, which will ſoon outweigh all other conſiderations.

The biſhops, under the denomination of ſpiritual lords, have preſerved the right of ſitting in the upper houſe of Parliament, where they are placed on the right ſide of the throne; but ſcarce is their opinion aſked: they always vote with the court; whether it be that the lives which ſome of them have led at the univerſities, at ſchools, and in libraries, have made them but little acquainted with affairs of ſtate and political diſcuſſions, or that they are apprehenſive of riſking the dignity of their characters, by entering into theſe debates, which are often carried on with great warmth.

The biſhops choſen from noble families, whoſe views and intereſts they will eſpouſe for many reaſons, will no longer have that docility, which is, perhaps, the moſt important point that the Engliſh government has gained by the Reformation *.

* The ſagacious Henry the Seventh obſerved this rule, in nominating perſons to the firſt preferments in the church: in France it was likewiſe obſerved by cardinal Richelieu: under pretext of preferring merit to birth, he provided the Gallican church with prelates as much diſtinguiſhed by their learning and piety, as little formidable to the miniſtry by their family-connections. Such were the Vialarts, the Chotarts, the Cornulliers, the Gauls, the Arnauds, the Malliers, the Legras, the Pavillons, &c. The cardinal, doubtleſs, had not foreſeen the affairs of the formulary and the regale, in which moſt of theſe prelates diſcovered an obſtinacy, which the miniſtry would not have met with in biſhops devoted to the court.

The

The troubles raiſed in ancient days in England by the refractorineſs of the biſhops, were generally owing to the blind ſubmiſſion of the Engliſh prelates to the court of Rome. The firſt ſtep taken by Thomas a Becket when raiſed to the ſee of Canterbury, was a prelude to the meaſures he purſued during the remainder of his life: he wanted to hold of the pope the archbiſhopric, which he owed to his ſovereign's friendſhip *.

At extraordinary meetings of parliament, ſuch, for example, as that for the trial of lord Byron, the biſhops, to make an equal figure with the lords temporal, who are then dreſſed out in long robes lined with ermine, appear in their doctors gowns, which are likewiſe robes of ſcarlet. The cap which they wear with this dreſs, is of a very odd form: it is a covering that envelopes the whole head; and upon this is fixed a four-cornered hat, quite flat. Wickliff and Calvin are generally repreſented with a cap of this ſort. At the ordinary meetings of parliament, the biſhops wear, over the gown and caſſock, their rochet or lawn ſleeves, which doubling, as it were, their bulk, ſupply the place of the diſtinctions of the ſhort cloak and pectoral croſs worn by our prelates.

Every body knows that theſe biſhops are nominated by the king, who has the ſupreme right of patronage to the church. Their heirs are obliged to bear,

* *Pontificatum minùs ſincerè et canonicè, id eſt, per ſceptrum manumque regiam ſuſceptum, pungentis conſcientiæ ſtimulos non ferens, ſecreto in manus domini papæ reſignavit, qui factum approbans, paſtoralem illi ſarcinam eccleſiaſticâ manu rurſus impoſuit, et turbatæ conſcientiæ læſionem ſanavit.* Guil. Neubr. l. ii. cap. 16. "Not being able to bear the reproaches of his conſcience, he reſigned the epiſcopal dignity, which he had acquired by the king's favour and authority, into the hands of the pope, who, approving of the action, again conferred the epiſcopal dignity upon him, and healed his wounded conſcience with a paternal hand."

on account of reparations, all the chicanery which obtains in France, and which, generally ſpeaking, determines the heirs of thoſe who have great benefices, to renounce their ſucceſſion: this is the harder upon the Engliſh, as the heirs to moſt biſhops are their own children. The Engliſh prelates pay the king the ſame dues which the Gallican prelates pay the pope under the name of annates. The product of theſe dues is applied to the building of new churches, and to the ſupport of the indigent curates. With regard to taxes, the Engliſh eccleſiaſtics, who enjoy no exemptions nor immunities, contribute to them as well as freeholders; and the beneficed clergy, as well as freeholders, have votes at elections for members of parliament. The Engliſh biſhops are, for the moſt part, married, and being often choſen out of the nobility, are obliged as well by their birth as their dignity to make a figure. The archbiſhop of Canterbury *, continuing to lead a ſort of collegiate life, has declined marrying. He every Sunday gives a dinner at Lambeth, of thirty covers, to the clergy, gentlemen from the univerſities, and others: a diſtinguiſhed joint ſerved up at this entertainment, is the ſurloin of beef.

Lambeth, which is very agreeably ſituated upon the Thames oppoſite to Weſtminſter, is the uſual reſidence of the archbiſhops of Canterbury; the affairs belonging to their juriſdiction as primates, engage more of their time than the buſineſs of the archiepiſcopal ſee. They are the popes of England: the baſis of their authority is the title of delegates of the holy ſee, which they obtained from Rome, and continued to enjoy till the Reformation.

* The late Dr. Secker. T.

It

It is ſomewhat extraordinary that the Reformation ſhould have left their juriſdiction untouched; it is ſtill the ſame with that which was enjoyed by the eccleſiaſtical courts of France, before our kings had reſumed the rights which thoſe courts had uſurped.

Till the reign of the laſt of the Edwards, the archbiſhop of Canterbury was generally appointed lord chancellor; the kings of England, till then, making it a rule to chuſe their chancellor conſtantly out of the epiſcopal order. Notwithſtanding their ſacred character, and the engagements of their ſtation, theſe prelatical chancellors were often ſtern, ſanguinary men. Such was Morton, who, being entruſted with the ſeals during the whole reign of Henry the ſeventh, took the moſt violent reſolutions, and was always for the moſt rigid meaſures. If the ambition of theſe archbiſhops was not ſatisfied, or if the court confined them to the care of their flocks, they ſoon ſhewed themſelves at the heads of factions, cabals, and tumultuous ſeditions. Such was the character of the archbiſhop Thomas Arundel, whoſe ambitious views were diſappointed by Richard the ſecond. He became the chief inſtrument in bringing about the abdication, dethroning, and violent death of that unhappy prince. That prelate, by placing the duke of Lancaſter upon the throne, gave occaſion to all the carnage and horrors of thoſe dreadful civil wars, which, during near ſeventy years, overwhelmed England with blood and ſlaughter. "The archbiſhop of Canterbury," ſays father Orleans *, "appeared in other reſpects to be endowed with great virtues; but his ſubſequent conduct made it manifeſtly appear that the king had reaſon to diſtruſt him; and that, with all theſe external marks of extraordinary virtues, he was at the bottom capable of the greateſt of crimes."

By the ſchiſm of the Engliſh, the archbiſhop of Canterbury became, in fact, what he before was only in title, *alterius orbis papa*, "the pope of another world." In the former ſtate he was the ſecond perſon in the kingdom; he ranked next to the princes of the royal family; he had the right of coining money, and that of being the only judge of a multitude of vaſſals who were his immediate dependants; in fine, all his lands were exempt both from the king's juriſdiction and that of the chancellor. The occaſion which Henry the eighth had for the archbiſhop of Canterbury, induced him to continue all thoſe privileges, which the popes had granted him or obtained in his favour.

He has a court or tribunal, held in a place, which goes by the name of Doctors-commons. The origin of this appellation reaches as far back as the age when the clerical privilege was erected into a common right upon the authority of falſe decretals. The diſtinction between the *common offence* and the *privileged caſe*, in our criminal procedure, has its ſource in the ſame abuſe, which Thomas a Becket was bent upon maintaining at the hazard of his life, and which has ſince been attacked in France, in ſo lively a manner, but to ſo little purpoſe, by the celebrated Peter de Cugnieres and ſome other bold authors.

The clerical privilege, or benefit of clergy, is not in England confined to eccleſiaſtics alone; it extends even to laymen, who plead it when brought to a trial for any ſort of crime, except wilful and premeditated murder. To be admitted to plead this benefit, a culprit ſhould be able to read a page in the Bible; If the priſoner is able to ſtand this teſt, which is almoſt always the caſe, the offence being within the ſtatute, he is burned in the hand with a red-hot iron, and

* Hiſtory of the Revolutions of England, book v.

then

then conſigned over to the eccleſiaſtical judge, that is to ſay, abſolved from all puniſhment, excepting only certain canonical penances. The origin of this privilege, called by the Engliſh *benefit of clergy*, is very ancient *: it reaches up to thoſe ages of darkneſs, in which eccleſiaſtics, being entirely exempt from ſecular juriſdiction, were not liable to any corporal puniſhment, whatever crimes they might have committed.

Henry the ſeventh, a prince of great wiſdom, was the firſt that thought of reſuming his authority over that part of his ſubjects: by an act of parliament in the y ear 1489, he ordained that every eccleſiaſtic, convicted of a capital crime, ſhould be burned in the hand before he was conſigned over to the eccleſiaſtical judge. This law, which, as I have already obſerved, is put in execution to this day, was one of the motives which the counterfeit duke of York afterwards alledged, for his revolt againſt Henry the ſeventh: he, in his manifeſto, ſpoke of it as an open violation of the privileges of the church †.

The benefit of clergy was intended as a ſort of encouragement to laymen, to learn to read, and thereby emerge out of the profound ignorance in which they were then immerſed. Though the end for which it was ordained has long ſince ceaſed, the cuſtom is ſtill retained, both through love for humanity, and to leave judges, who have duly conſidered the crime,

* In the 38th chapter of the Rule of St. Benedict, it is enjoined the monk, who reads in the refectory, to begin with a public prayer, to requeſt that God would vouchſafe to preſerve him from that vanity, to which his being able to read might expoſe him. This proves how rare men of learning were, in thoſe days, even in the neighbourhood of Rome itſelf.

† See lord Bacon's Life of Henry the Seventh.

the

the means of ſaving the culprit from the rigour of laws whoſe ſeverity admits of no mitigation.

The proof of wills is an affair that belongs to *Doctors-commons*, as does likewiſe the getting them put in execution afterwards, and the diſputes concerning ſucceſſions of moveables *ab inteſtat:* the origin of this right reaches to the ages in which all the biſhops of Europe received, by their delegates and notaries, the wills of every body in their dioceſes, which were to contain diſpoſitions in favour of the church, upon pain of being declared null and void, beſides the privation of chriſtian burial to thoſe who died inteſtate. This privilege of the Engliſh clergy, makes a part of the moſt ſacred rights of the nation, which are contained in Magna Charta *.

At the time that this charter was granted, there were no notaries in Europe, but thoſe appointed by the biſhops. The biſhop of Paris had then a hundred notaries or ſworn clerks in his office ‡. Lewis the Gros and Philip Auguſtus with difficulty prevailed, by threats and all the efforts they could make, to be admitted as aſſociates in the juriſdiction which thoſe prelates exerciſed over their ſubjects and over their officers themſelves. There is ſtill extant a monument of the accommodation or treaty of peace concluded, with regard to theſe affairs, between the biſhop of Paris and king Philip Auguſtus †, on the gate of Fort l'Eveque at Paris, at the ſide towards the

* *Si aliquis liber homo inteſtatus deceſſerit, catalla ſua* (his chattels, his goods,) *per manus propinquorum et parentum ſuorum, per viſum eccleſiæ, diſtribuantur ſalvis debitis.* "If any freeman dies inteſtate, let his goods and chattels be diſtributed by the hands of his friends and relations, in ſuch a manner as is agreeable to the church, without injuring his creditors."

‡ Hiſtory of the dioceſe of Paris, by the abbé Le Bœuf, tom. ii. c. 2.

† See this treaty in Gallia Chriſtiana, tom. vii. col. 94. It was concluded at Giſors in 1218.

ſtreet of St. Germain. The pediment of this gate, erected in the fourteenth century, ſupports the figures in baſſo relievo, of a biſhop and a king kneeling at the feet of the Bleſſed Virgin. The biſhop has his right hand upon the king; and the arms of France, which are at their feet, conſiſting of a vaſt many flower-de-luces, are croſſed by a croſier, which ſtands erect, by way of eminence. Noblemen of the firſt diſtinction aſſumed the honourable title of bailiff of a court that rivalled the king's juriſdiction, and to which it was ſuperior in many reſpects: they reckon amongſt the bailiffs the Bethunes, the de Marles, &c. Theſe noblemen thought it an honour to carry the biſhops to to be interred. See the article *Government*.

In the following centuries the authority of the popes, grafted upon that of the biſhops, filled France and England with *apoſtolical notaries*, who afterwards added to this title that of *imperial* †. Were they immediately nominated for by the emperor? Or were they appointed for by the pope alone, as well in his name as in that of the emperor? Contemporary monuments afford us no lights with regard to theſe facts, which are the more ſurprizing, as it is leſs probable that the kings of France and England could have ſo far forgot the rights of their crown, as to tolerate in their dominions and under their eyes public officers, who had received their patents from foreign powers, their rivals, and often their enemies. According to the regiſter of the court of chancery of the empire, the patent that was made out for the imperial notary contained an oath of allegiance to the emperor: *recepto juramento fidelitatis — ad honorem et fidelitatem*

* Our money was likewiſe, till the reign of Francis the Firſt, coined by perſons, who took the oath of allegiance to the emperor. See the treatiſes upon coins, and Menagiana, tom. iv. p. 192.

noſtram,

noſtram, "having received his oath of allegiance—to honour and be faithful to us." Theſe words are to be found in a model of theſe patents, inſerted amongſt the letters of the celebrated Peter de Vignes, chancellor to Frederick II.

It ſhould, at the ſame time, be obſerved, that the appointing theſe notaries with a double title, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was, perhaps, only one of the expedients, which the popes of Avignon had recourſe to, for laying Europe under contribution: in the patents, they added the imperial to the pontifical authority, in conſequence of the claims which they laid to the former. On one hand, this enterprize was little intereſting to the emperors, whoſe prerogative it even appeared to extend; on the other, the kings of France and England, doubtleſs, ſaw nothing in it but an affair purely relative to the finances. It is true, the apoſtolical ſeal, in ſome meaſure, conferred juriſdiction; but the eccleſiaſtical courts were then the tribunals moſt reſorted to, on account of the ignorance of the laity. From what they are at preſent, we may form a judgement of what they muſt have been in the times of ignorance and barbariſm, when ſubjected to the yoke of ſecular authority.

Though, by an edict of the year 1490, Charles the VIIIth had forbid the paſſing of any edict by imperial, apoſtolical and epiſcopal notaries, in temporal affairs, upon pain of the ſaid inſtrument's being rejected and held null and void, the abuſe continued to prevail: I myſelf ſaw an act of 1495, received by an apoſtolical and imperial notary, in a province not far diſtant from Paris. The ſame abuſe prevailed in England till the reign of Henry VII.

The proving of teſtamentary diſpoſitions, a formality unknown in France, is ſtill performed in England, by

by preſenting the will in the court of the primate, and ſwearing that it is the will of the perſon whoſe name is to it. By retaining this formality and its concomitant circumſtances, England has, at leaſt, ſaved the exorbitant fees which, before the Reformation, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, by means of his doctors, levied whenever any inſtrument was to be proved: fees that repreſented the legacies, which teſtators were in ancient days obliged to leave the church.

I have ſeen this ceremony performed; it is done in the ſame manner that oaths are taken in all the courts of juſtice in England, by kiſſing a little Bible, which, for that purpoſe, lies conſtantly upon a table in the office. Quakers likewiſe performed this ceremony; but they were excuſed from taking an oath, on account of their principles, upon condition of ſimply affirming, inſtead of ſwearing to the fact, and paying half a crown for that diſpenſation.

In Doctors-commons, cognizance is likewiſe taken of marriages, promiſes of marriage *, and even of contracts which ſettle the conditions of them, at leaſt with regard to the manner of diſpoſing of moveable effects. They, by appeal, take cognizance of the deciſions of the eccleſiaſtical judges within the extent of the primacy of Canterbury; and from their judgements, there lies an appeal to a committee formed for this purpoſe in the upper houſe of parliament. Their method of proceeding has retained all the ancient forms, which render it equally tedious and expenſive.

They have their court, their apartment, and a library belonging to their ſociety, in the neighbourhood of St. Paul's. Their library contains all the canoniſts

* If a man has made a general promiſe to marry any particular perſon, he is not at liberty to marry another; but the time is left to his own diſcretion: which generally renders the promiſe deluſive, and of no effect. But if the man has fixed a certain day for his marriage, he is ſure of being caſt.

ancient and modern: Sanchez is at the head of thoſe who have treated of marriage. I was the more ſurprized at not finding the works of the celebrated Van Eſpen, as the principles which he has proceeded upon, in many reſpects, come near to thoſe of the Engliſh civilians. I had beſides ſeen his works in the ſhops of ſeveral of the London booksellers. I mentioned them to the librarian, who requeſted me to write the title down in the catalogue; and have been ſince informed, that Van Eſpen, being one of the moſt ſtrenuous of the canoniſts in oppoſing the counterfeit decretals and the juriſdiction built on that foundation, it was no wonder his works ſhould be excluded the library of a tribunal, which owes its exiſtence to thoſe falſe decretals.

The juriſdiction of the primate and the biſhops of England had, as in France, the name of Chriſtianity: a name which the Engliſh extended to whatever concerned the poſſeſſions, the rights, the privileges, the claims and pretenſions of the clergy and monks, whom William of Newbury *, who was himſelf a monk, called *Chriſtianos philoſophantes*. †

Lambeth, the biſhop of Canterbury's place of reſidence, has ſome good houſes, with agreeable walks upon the bank of the Thames, a well-built church, and a private chapel: in a word, every circumſtance there ſhews it to be the palace of a great perſonage ‡.

* See Du Cange, at the word *Chriſtianus*. The writings and records of the Engliſh have furniſhed him with examples of this name's being extended to all the objects abovementioned.

† Book iii. cap. 5. In France and England the vineyard of a curate or prior was diſtinguiſhed from thoſe of their neighbours, by the title of *the vineyard of Chriſtianity*.

‡ Thoſe that are but moderately verſed in the hiſtory of England know, what part has been always played there by the archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, whoſe ambitious rivalſhip has often excited diſturbances in the ſtate. We meet with intereſting accounts of theſe affairs in the hiſtory of William of Newbury, who deſcribes the conduct of thoſe prelates in the

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The archbiſhop has a conſiderable library, which belongs to his ſee, and which his predeceſſors, for a century paſt, have been continually increaſing. It contained a great number of manuſcripts, which were plundered and deſtroyed by the adherents of Cromwell, who took all books in Gothic characters for miſſals and breviaries, and, conſidering them only as ornaments of the Roman proſtitute, deſtroyed them through a principle of religion. Pictures * and painted glaſs were compriſed in this proſcription; they broke them to pieces wherever they had made themſelves maſters. The chapel at Lincolns-Inn is the only place where I have ſeen ſuch windows entire and well preſerved; but I was given to underſtand, that, before thoſe of Cromwell's party had poſſeſſed themſelves of London, the benchers of this Inn had taken care to remove them into a place of ſafety. They were afterwards reſtored with Charles II. 'Tis, doubtleſs, the ſame care, which has preſerved the ſmall number of manuſcripts ſtill poſſeſt by the library at Lambeth.

The moſt important are, a continued ſeries of the regiſters, which contain all the acts of the archiepiſcopal and primatical juriſdiction of the archbiſhops of Canterbury, ever ſince the year 1272: Perhaps

twelfth century in theſe terms. *Apoſtolica regula à noſtri temporis epiſcopis ita eſt abrogata, ut, ſolicitudine paſtorali poſtpoſitâ, quanto pervicaciùs tanto et vaniùs de excellentia litigent, et omnis fere epiſcopalis cura circà bonorum prærogativam verſatur.* l. iii. c. 1. "The apoſtolical rule has been in ſuch a manner aboliſhed by the biſhops of the preſent age, that, having laid aſide all care of their paſtoral functions, they as obſtinately as vainly wrangle concerning precedency, and almoſt all their epiſcopal care is exerted about their prerogatives."

* Cromwell was true to the ſpirit of his party, in his hatred to painting, and the polite arts. He ſold the collection, which James the Firſt and Charles the Firſt had made of the fineſt pieces, of the Italian and Flemiſh ſchools, which were in their moſt flouriſhing ſtate in the reigns of thoſe princes. Cardinal

there

there is not a church in Europe poſſeſſed of ſo ancient and compleat a collection of this ſort.

Amongſt other manuſcripts, which are but of little importance, I took notice of two miſſals. The firſt, which is dated 1415, was made for the chapel of king Henry V. with a magnificence anſwerable to that deſtination. It is filled with all the ornaments which painting is capable of exhibiting; all the margins are adorned with flouriſhings and groteſque figures, drawn in the niceſt manner imaginable, in colours of the livelieſt hue. The moſt extraordinary of theſe groteſque figures, both for the idea and the the place which it occupies, preſents to the view *humani corporis poſteriora*, placed between a head and two legs. This odd figure is exactly at the bottom of the firſt page of the canon, at which the maſs-book was opened, when it was carried to be kiſſed according to the Roman liturgy. The calendar of this miſſal is in French: which ſeems to ſhew it to be the work of ſome French artiſt.

The other miſſal was written in 1584, for one Laubepine, biſhop of Limoges, whoſe arms adorn the frontiſpiece. All the holidays of the ſecond order, are marked in rubrick characters in the moſt diſtinct manner, and without any ſort of abbrevation, by the word *Prindas*; which is neither Engliſh, French nor Latin.

Amongſt the moſt valuable of theſe manuſcripts is kept, with particular care, an imperfect copy of M. de Meaux's *Expoſition*, ſimilar, as we are told, to that which this prelate cauſed to be made for M. de Tu-

Mazarin purchaſed for the king, and for himſelf, ſeveral maſterpieces, the price of which was regulated by the little knowledge that Cromwell had of their merit. It was by means of this acquiſition, that the celebrated picture of the labours of Hercules by Guido, has been admitted into the king's collection.

renne,

renne, before he had put the laſt hand to that work. The value of this copy conſiſts in differences of the higheſt importance relative to ſeveral articles which have been altered, extended and abridged in the firſt edition of 1671. M. Allix, a diſſenting miniſter, has written, with his own hand, oppoſite to each of theſe articles, ſucceeding additions, defalcations and changes. We read at the head of this book, a ſort of verbal proceſs drawn up by this miniſter, and ſealed with his own ſeal, in which he atteſts the exact conformity of this copy with that of the marſhal de Turenne, both in the printed part, and in the two laſt leaves which were added in writing.

Theſe changes, which are looked upon as important, were the foundation of a work that an Engliſh divine publiſhed at London, in 1686, againſt the *Expoſition*. M. Boſſuet thought it his duty to anſwer this work: which he did at the end of his ſixth animadverſion upon M. Jurieu, publiſhed in 1692.

Upon examining the copy in the Lambeth library with the utmoſt attention, I could not but think, that the characters had neither that diſtinctneſs, nor the paper that firmneſs, for which books that came out of the Cramoiſi preſs were remarkable; but, according to M. Boſſuet himſelf, theſe were only waſte ſheets, for which any ſort of paper was good enough; and it is well known, how great influence the choice of paper has upon the clearneſs of types.

This difficulty with regard to the form, and that which ariſes from it with reſpect to the paper, are eaſily removed, by comparing the copy of Lambeth with that of Marſhal Turenne; if it be true, as I was aſſured by the library-keeper, that the latter is ſtill extant in the library of the hotel de Bouillon.

A great gallery of the palace of Lambeth, contains all the pictures, at full length, of the ſeveral biſhops who, ſince the Reformation, have poſſeſſed the ſee of Canterbury, and of ſome prelates whoſe talents have done an honour to the Engliſh clergy *. To theſe are joined certain ancient portraits, amongſt which one, which is the work of Holbein, deſerves particular notice: it is the picture of an archbiſhop contemporary to the painter: though the features are ſhocking, there is ſomething very expreſſive in the phyſiognomy.

Amongſt the modern portraits, that of Dr. Burnet is one which beſt of all exhibits a countenance as noble and pleaſing, as the works of that celebrated writer are the reverſe. The Memoirs of John Macky contain certain anecdotes of that perſonage, whoſe character was an odd mixture of violence and complaiſance, which he made alternately ſubſervient to promoting his fortune. He was concerned in all the great changes, and had a hand in all the intrigues, which agitated England from the year 1680 till his death. Ever varying his principles according to circumſtances, he was unſhaken in nothing but his hatred to the houſe of Stuart. This hatred it was that excited king William to promote him to the epiſcopal dignity, and to confer on him the place of chancellor of the order of the garter, and that of præceptor to the duke of Glouceſter. He was afterwards as warm a partiſan of the houſe of Hanover, as he had been of the prince of Orange; but death did not give him time to reap the fruits of this new attachment.

* I was indebted for the ſight and examination of the curioſities at Lambeth, to Dr. Ducarel, Fellow of the ſociety of Antiquaries, author of ſome works replete with erudition, and commiſſary of the city and dioceſe of Canterbury.

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In the Memoirs juſt cited, we meet with two conſultations of this doctor, which afford the moſt extraordinary proofs of his talent at ſuiting his principles to the times and occurrences. The barrenneſs of the queen conſort to Charles the Second, gave occaſion to theſe conſultations, which have all the authenticity that can be deſired in acts of this nature. In the firſt he laid it down as a maxim, that *barrenneſs in a wife is a juſt cauſe of divorce*; and in the ſecond he maintains, that even *under the goſpel diſpenſation, there are certain caſes which may juſtify polygamy*. Yet the doctrine diſplayed in theſe conſultations, by a divine who had acquired a reputation for rigid virtue, had no effect upon the principles of honour, which reigned in the ſoul of a prince the moſt ſenſual and voluptuous of the age in which he lived *.

A chaplainſhip to a nobleman of the Hamilton family, was Dr. Burnet's firſt ſtep to fortune. He, in ſecret, won the heart and received the hand of a niece of the chief perſon of that family, lady Margaret Kennedy, daughter of the earl of Caſſils. His marriage being diſcovered in Scotland, he fled with his wife to England, and joined with the party oppoſite to that of the duke of York, of which the Hamiltons were the chief ſupport in Scotland. The enmity of that houſe purſued him to England, where he exerted himſelf to the utmoſt to acquire a name in the anti-royal party. Being compelled to leave England, he traverſed France, Italy, and Germany, from whence he went to the prince of Orange, at the Hague, whoſe fortunes he followed, and whom he ſerved with all the ardour of a ringleader of a party; the prince ſhewed his gratitude, by procuring for the doctor, at the

* *Sanctiores erant aures principis quàm corda ſacerdotum.* "The ears of princes were more religious than the hearts of prieſts."

death of his firſt wife, (who, not chuſing to follow her huſband in his preregrinations, ſtayed behind him in England) a Dutch heireſs in marriage; by this lady he had ſeven children, five of whom ſurvived their father. Upon the death of this ſecond wife, he married a rich widow of the name of Berkeley.

It was not his fault that his patron and benefactor, who was looked upon by ſome as conqueror of England, did not ſeize upon all the prerogatives which flow from the right of conqueſt, and which had been ſo fatal to the nation under William the Baſtard. With a view of promoting this deſign of the prince of Orange, Burnet publiſhed a paſtoral letter, which was condemned to the flames by the Houſe of Commons. His laſt work was a virulent invective againſt the peace of Utrecht and the Pretender, from whoſe reſentment he would have had every thing to fear in caſe queen Anne had called the exiled family to the throne.

The chancel of St. James's church Clerkenwell where he was buried in 1715, is adorned with a long Latin epitaph †, which praiſes him as *Libertatis, patriæ, veræque religionis ſtrenuum ſemperque indefeſſum propugnatorem, tyrannidi & ſuperſtitioni perpetuò infenſum.* "The ſtrenuous and unwearied defender of liberty, his country, and true religion, and the eternal enemy of tyranny and ſuperſtition."

Whilſt I was in London, died a ſon of biſhop Burnet: I had been informed that he was juſt

† On the other ſide of this chancel we meet with the epitaph of one La Rochefoucauld, who, perſevering in the faith, which his whole family embraced in the ſixteenth century, had followed the prince of Orange to England, and ſignalized himſelf in his ſervice; and that in a ſtation ſuited to his birth. He was afterwards honoured with an Engliſh title, which I have forgotten, as well as the time of his death, which happened lately, and in a very advanced age.

come from Paris, where, in quality of Commiſſioner of the Court of Seſſion at Edinburgh, he had juſt finiſhed a judicial enquiry, which was to be made uſe of in the cauſe depending ſome years between the families of Douglas and Hamilton.

In collecting theſe particulars of Dr. Burnet, I have followed the ſame method which I have obſerved with regard to other celebrated writers. Theſe anecdotes throw a light upon their works, and contribute to render them intereſting to their readers when they would not have been ſo of themſelves. To peruſe them with this aſſiſtance, is as different from reading them without it, as the converſation of an acquaintance differs from that of a man we have no knowledge of.

The church of England is, at preſent, very far from being actuated by thoſe narrow principles which ſelf-intereſt dictated to Dr. Burnet. If we except a few biſhops, who ſometimes, but to very little purpoſe, affect qualms of conſcience, the Engliſh clergy behave to the diſſenters with that noble confidence, with which every rational body of men is inſpired by acknowledged ſuperiority: they would, however, be glad that all Proteſtant diſſenters would be ſatisfied to ſay their prayers in private: they eſteem ſome individuals amongſt the Catholics, but they have very little regard for the body in general: not that they think them the authors of the fire of London, of the gunpowder plot, nor of all the other conſpiracies which have been imputed to theſe people; they leave ſuch opinions to the vulgar.

But how can the populace avoid believing theſe ſtories? The inſcription on the Monument erected immediately after the great fire of London declares, in expreſs terms, that this fire was the work of Popiſh fury. James the Second had cauſed that part of the

inſcription to be effaced: but the prince of Orange took care to have it reſtored. With regard to the gunpowder treaſon, it has given riſe to an annual ſolemnity, in which thanks are returned to Almighty God for the happy diſcovery of that plot; and in the form of prayer made uſe of upon that occaſion, every circumſtance of it is laid to the charge of the Papiſts.

The Engliſh clergy are very tractable with regard to ſeveral articles in which all Chriſtian communions are agreed: if, when the liturgy was compiled, they had thought as they now do for the moſt part, it ſeems doubtful whether the Athanaſian creed would hold the place, which it has at preſent, in the body of that liturgy. With regard to the puniſhments of a future ſtate; whilſt, with Zuinglius, they limit their duration, they have nothing left but the ſame purgatory which furniſhed the firſt reformers with their principal topics of declamation againſt the church of Rome. Who ever went to the other world to ſee? was the anſwer made me by a grave divine, whom I queſtioned concerning the preſent ſtate of that queſtion.

Free-thinking, the laſt refuge of minds tired out with religious wars, and the revolutions to which they give riſe, has, by inſenſible degrees, gained ground amongſt the Engliſh, and even amongſt the clergy themſelves.

Charles the Second, either through a ſecret attachment to the Roman-Catholic religion, or through views meerly political, favoured this turn of his ſubjects *. James the Second, with a view of encourag-

* Conſtantine did the ſame, in his firſt edicts in favour of the Chriſtian religion. Theſe edicts offered civil liberty to men of all perſuaſions, and of all ſects. See John Baudouin's com-

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ing the Roman Catholics, did all he could for the Non-conformiſts, amongſt the multitude of whom the Latitudinarians eſcaped notice. King William, upon his acceſſion to the throne, did nothing for the ſect which had raiſed him to it: the Shafteſburys and moſt of thoſe who had the chief hand in bringing about the Revolution, which had placed upon his head a father-in-law's crown, thought very freely upon the ſubject of religion.

The Latitudinarians fancied they might avail themſelves of this toleration, to divulge their dogmas upon religious ſubjects. In 1696 John Toland publiſhed his *Chriſtianity not myſterious*; a work by which he propoſed to demonſtrate that the *doctrines of the Chriſtian religion are not properly myſterious*: a work which, as ſoon as ever it appeared, was condemned to be publicly burned in Dublin. Toland, having fallen under the cenſure of the ſame tribunal by which his book was condemned, fled to England, where both the work and author were left unmoleſted.

Encouraged by this kind reception he publiſhed in 1699, the life of Milton; and in ſpeaking of the Εἰκὼν βασιλικὴ aſcribed to Charles the Firſt, he inſinuated his doubts concerning the truth and authenticity of the Old and New Teſtament. Several critics having riſen up againſt theſe doubts, Toland, the ſame year, publiſhed an elaborate anſwer of a conſiderable extent, intitled Amyntor.

The inferior clergy of the convocation, which met in 1702, thought it their duty to cenſure theſe heterodox productions. They forthwith laid them before

mentary: *Ad edicta veterum principium Rom. de Chriſtianis, Baſil.* 1557; and another treatiſe, by the ſame author, entitled *Conſtantinus Magnus*.

the ſuperior clergy, and excited them to join in branding them, as works of the moſt pernicious tendency. The biſhops thought it incumbent upon them to cauſe the works, which had been thus reported, to be examined; and this examination occaſioned the diſcovery of propoſitions of a much more ſerious nature, than thoſe which the inferior clergy had taken notice of. In a word, the bench of biſhops appeared determined to make theſe books and their author feel the weight of eccleſiaſtical authority.

But what could this authority avail? The biſhops themſelves were ignorant of its extent; therefore, in compliance with the cuſtoms of England, they conſulted the lawyers.

To the firſt queſtion: "Whether it was contrary to any law, for the convocation or aſſembly of the clergy to declare a book to be impious, heretical, and calculated to corrupt the morals of the people." The lawyers made anſwer: That it was. To the ſecond queſtion: "Whether the propoſitions extracted from the work of Toland contained ſentiments contrary to any law? The lawyers made anſwer: That they did not. They added, that in 1689, a book having been reported in the ſame manner, the doctors of canon and civil law had declared the aſſembly of the clergy to be incompetent judges upon ſubjects of ſuch a nature. Being at laſt conſulted with regard to the means of giving vent to their indignation againſt the works which had been reported, the lawyers declared themſelves in the following terms: "The clergy cannot proceed againſt the works reported, without the expreſs permiſſion of the king: in caſe they proceed againſt them, they incur the penalties pronounced by the ſtatute of the 25th of Henry VIII *; (the ſeizure of their temporalities.)"

* Life of Toland, prefixed to his Works, publiſhed in 1725.

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Be that as it will, the permiſſion of the court, which had been judged indiſpenſably neceſſary, either was not applied for, or not granted; and the report had no other effect but to give new importance to the writings reported, and increaſe their reputation.

A long war, and the important buſineſs of the union of the three kingdoms, filled the whole reign of queen Anne, whoſe inclination muſt have led her to favour the toleration, in conſequence of the deſign, which ſhe was ſuppoſed by a great part of the inhabitants of England to entertain, of calling in the pretender.

George the Firſt had reaſons for approving the toleration, diametrically oppoſite to thoſe which had regulated the conduct of his four predeceſſors. In quality of head of the church of England, he, iſſued a proclamation, condemning the publication of Socinian writings, or ſuch as were favourable to the new opinions concerning the Trinity.

The public was diverted with a law made by a prince of the Lutheran perſuaſion, in favour of a religion in which he had not been educated, to deprive others of a liberty in which he indulged himſelf. However, if we may be allowed to judge of this law by the number of heterodox writings which have ſince been publiſhed, and which the preſs renews every year in England, it is to be preſumed that it never was put in execution: the prince, who was the author of it, ſhould, doubtleſs, have firſt cauſed its propriety to be aſcertained by the lawyers. This precaution, which the upper houſe of convocation thought neceſſary to enable them to pronounce upon the works reported in 1702, furniſhed new pretexts to the enemies of the church, who publicly

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accuſed the moſt eminent of the clergy of Socinianiſm.

Though an independent ſpirit be the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of the Latitudinarians, the kings of England have found amongſt that body ſubjects whoſe fidelity has conſoled them for the envenomed rage of fanaticiſm. Dr. John Hales is a memorable example of this ſort. That doctor, who was a moſt rigid Calviniſt, having aſſiſted at all the meetings of the famous ſynod of Dort, returned from it an Arminian; and having imbibed the principles of the Socinians, he joined the party afterwards called Latitudinarians *.

He, notwithſtanding, continued inviolably attached to Charles the Firſt, and that attachment made him ſacrifice places, which it is ſufficient juſt to mention, in order to ſhew the ardour of his zeal for his ſovereign.

He reſigned his canonry of Windſor, and fellowſhip of Eton college. His ſucceſſor in that place having afterwards offered to reſtore it to him, he declined the offer, for fear it ſhould be concluded that he had quitted the royal party.

He had nothing left but a library of well-choſen books: this he ſold, divided the money between ſome of the Royaliſts, who were greatly perſecuted and oppreſſed by the Parliamentarians, and retired to the country, to the widow of one of his ſervants, who lived by her daily labour: at this aſylum he died in 1656, in the ſeventy-ſecond year of his age †.

One of his quondam pupils embelliſhed his tomb with an epitaph, wherein, after enumerating the

* The ſame variation of religious tenets appears in the numerous works of Dr. Whitby.

† The celebrated Dr. Pococke, with the ſame reſolution, bore the like perſecutions in the ſame cauſe.

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facts above related, he declares that his maſter was, *mundo ſublimior, ideòque aptior angelorum conſortio* *, "too ſublime a genius for this world, and therefore the fitter for the ſociety of angels."

The tolerating ſpirit of the church of England, with regard to heterodox opinions, does not ſuppoſe any great degree of ardour for the propagation of the faith amongſt the Pagan neighbours of the Engliſh colonies. The miſſionaries deſtined for that end, are under the direction of a ſociety lately formed, which ſupplies the ſums requiſite for that purpoſe.

A clergyman, by whom I wanted to be informed of the ſtate of theſe miſſions, obſerved to me, that in the church of Rome the propagation of the Chriſtian faith is left to Jeſuits and other Monks, who fly to foreign parts with the greater eagerneſs, as theſe miſſions, whilſt they furniſh them with an opportunity of labouring for the glory of their order, draw particular members of the ſociety out of their cloyſters, reſtore them to the world with ſome diſtinction, and give them a proſpect of acquiring an entire independence, by the hopes of biſhoprics *in partibus* †: that, the general and particular views of theſe new apoſtles ſufficiently diſcover themſelves by diſturbances, contentions, quarrels, and religious ſchiſms, which give ſuch ſcandal to Pagans, to whom Chriſtianity ſhould be repreſented in no other light but as a religion replete with love and charity: but we think concerning this great work, added the clergyman, in the ſame manner as one of you Frenchmen did, who

* See the ſhort account of his life, prefixed to the French tranſlation of his theological tracts, publiſhed at Amſterdam in in 1730.

† That is, *in partibus infidelium*. T.

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without belonging to any religious order, went of his own accord amongſt the infidels, with a view of converting them to the Chriſtian faith; at the ſame time, he ſhewed me the printed narrative which this zealot had himſelf publiſhed concerning the efforts he made for the attainment of his end. Theſe are the words of that narrative, which I have faithfully tranſcribed.

"When I was amongſt the infidels, I had an ardent deſire to convince them that Chriſtianity is the only true religion. I laid before them the articles of our faith in the ſimpleſt manner I could, and ſome of theſe Idolaters, Atheiſts, and Mahometans appeared diſpoſed to receive the grace of faith which God gives to whoever he thinks proper. In the courſe of this my miſſion, I met with ſeveral of their bonzes, doctors, prieſts, imans, talapoins, and philoſophers, who aſked me whether mine was the only true religion; I proved to them that it was, by the ſcriptures, and by the miracles which are therein related from Geneſis to the Apocalypſe. But Atheiſts turned all I ſaid into jeſt. The Idolaters cited to me the mythologies of their poets, and told me a thouſand idle ſtories of the metamorphoſes of their gods. The Mahometans did more; they entered into long diſcuſſions upon the Koran, and dwelt upon the voyage of their prophet and upon his angels, who were of ſo prodigious a magnitude, that, to take meaſure of their dimenſions, would require travelling for ſeventy thouſand years. I then proceeded to the miracles of our martyrs, but they laughed at my proofs; and this convinced me that all the methods I took were ineffectual. I wanted to demonſtrate the truth of religion to them, by hiſtory, antiquities, the fathers of the church and the doctors of our univerſities. I inſiſted upon the lives of a conſiderable number of biſhops who had compoſed books, in which they ſpeak of councils

councils and fathers; but, in anſwer to all I alledged, they told me that their gods were very ancient, and they had had in all ages prieſts, bonzes, derviſes, talapoins, and other orders; that the Mahometans had mendicant orders, ſuch as Derviſes, Geomaliers, Cadis, Imans, Santons, Alfaquis, Seiks, Hoggis, Murdens, and other perſonages, who are held in high eſteem by the Muſſulmans. I even met with perſons with whom I diſputed two whole days, and who thought to perſuade me to embrace their religion; and, with that view, urged arguments taken from the prophet Aly and their philoſophers: this wicked purpoſe of theirs ſurprized me, as I had croſſed the ſeas with no other view but to convert them. What amazed me moſt was, that our prelates, prieſts and monks, reſident amongſt thoſe people, did not make them ſenſible of the truth of our religion, for freedom of diſpute is allowed in Perſia, on account of their earneſt deſire to convert us to Mahometaniſm: this made me neceſſarily conclude, either that the miſſionaries were very ignorant, or that they were rogues and hypocrites."

This account makes part of a printed narrative of eight or ten pages in quarto, publiſhed at Paris in 1666, by one Abbé d'Auberi, with the following title: "To the public, to the honour and glory of God, and the exaltation of the Holy Virgin and the whole celeſtial court—I will begin to blow the trumpet of the Goſpel, &c."

The Engliſh regulate their behaviour to the natives of the new world by their principle of toleration. If this had been the maxim of the Spaniards, America would have preſerved its native inhabitants, and its conquerors would have ſpared themſelves the cruelties for which their deſcendants have equal reaſon to complain and be aſhamed; in a word, Sepulveda would

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not have publiſhed a work to apologize to the world for thoſe barbarities *.

Amongſt the French refugees, there are ſome who have united themſelves to the church of England, and adopted its rites and liturgy. I heard divine ſervice in one of the churches which belong to the French of the Engliſh communion: they conform to the liturgy of the church of England in the French language.

It is ſo tedious, that the Roman Catholic ſervice is ſhort in compariſon. "The Engliſh are fond of long prayers, ſaid queen Elizabeth, when buſy about preparing a liturgy, let us humour their taſte." This ſervice is read every day in the cathedrals, college-chapels, and pariſh churches to very thin congregations; when the minor canon or curate acquits himſelf with the ſame air of importance, as that with which our fathers of the oratory repeat their litanies. On Sundays the whole church is filled, and the pſalms are ſung by all the pariſh boys, ſeated upon an amphitheatre which fills, on each ſide, the organ-loft. The Sunday ſervice is followed by a ſermon, at which people have the better opportunities for ſleeping, as each family is ſhut up in a box, called a pew, cloſed on all ſides to the height of four or five feet. Theſe boxes fill the whole church, excepting three narrow paſſages, one in the middle and the others on the two ſides.

* The title of this work is, *Democrates ſecundus: An licet bello Indos proſequi, eis auferendo dominia poſſeſſioneſque, et bona temporalia, et occidendo eos, ſi reſiſtentiam oppoſuerint, ut ſic ſpoliati et ſubjecti, facilius iis ſuadeatur fides?* "Is it lawful to oppreſs the Indians, and to harraſs them by war, depriving them of their dominions, poſſeſſions, and temporal advantages, that, being thus ſtript and reduced, it might be the more eaſy to perſuade them to embrace the faith?

The

The Engliſh churches, except the cathedral of St. Paul and the collegiate church of Weſtminſter, are moſtly built according to the model of the modern Jewiſh Synagogues. They are great halls with galleries on each ſide. At about two thirds of their breadth ſtands the pulpit, with a deſk underneath, where the clerk ſets the pſalms. The upper end of the hall is occupied by the communion table, which is deſtitute of all ornament, and to which there is ſcarce any honour paid, or any marks of reverence ſhewn even at the time of communion, which is performed with great plates, and cups of ſilver gilt. Upon ſacrament days, that is to ſay, once a month, the table has no other ornament but a linen table-cloth to cover it. Over it are generally to be ſeen the ten commandments, or certain verſes of the New Teſtament, in frames more or leſs adorned with gilding and ſculpture. Old women are charged with the care of the veſtry, and theſe handle all the plate made uſe of at the Lord's ſupper. As I happened one Sunday in the afternoon to paſs by St. Martin's church, near which I lodged, an old woman, who was removing the furniture of the communion-table, accepted of the offer I made her of helping to carry it to the veſtry. Whilſt I was croſſing the balluſtrade, I perceived, about the middle of the bundle, a napkin folded with all the care which our nuns ſhew for their veſtry-linen, and upon this napkin a piece of leavened bread, very flat, and cut into little ſlices about as broad as one's thumb. I was almoſt tempted to taſte of it; but dreading ſome profanation, and not underſtanding the old woman, who, on her ſide, did not underſtand me, I took care to avoid touching it. I afterwards was informed, that this bread was a fragment of that given at the ſacrament.

The Engliſh churches are neither adorned with ſtatues nor paintings. Of all thoſe which I viſited, there is but one at London embelliſhed with the buſts of St. Peter and St. Paul, painted in oval, on both ſides of the communion-table.

Beſides being ornamental, both paintings and ſtatues in churches produce effects, which are not immediately diſcernible, and which, notwithſtanding, are very real, and require ſome attention in the choice of pieces of this ſort. I know in France, a country pariſh that has a conſiderable number of inhabitants. The tutelary ſaint is a great St. Lawrence, with a flat, ſquare head, which ſtands juſt over the high altar. All the peaſants of the village are ſo many copies, that appear to be chalked out according to the image of their patron. This St. Lawrence is to this village, what a vicar is to another, who joins the moſt unblemiſhed character to the moſt agreeable countenance. In the ſpace of twenty years, during which time he has been at the head of this village, the new generation of his pariſhioners no longer reſemble the ancient breed; and the countenances of all the children partake, more or leſs, of the agreeableneſs of that of the paſtor.

Engliſh cleanlineſs is conſpicuous in all their churches: perſons, hired for that purpoſe, are conſtantly buſy in waſhing, ſweeping, cleaning and duſting. The chanting of the Engliſh liturgy is as unmelodious as the ſound of their bells. Each church has two or three bells of a very inconſiderable ſize, which make nothing but diſſonance when rung at the ſame time, and each of which ſounds falſe when rung by itſelf. I was tormented every Sunday with hearing St. Martin's bell ring early in the morning, almoſt for two hours together; the falſe and hoarſe tone of this bell did not ſuffer me either to ſleep or reſt

in

in my bed *. The few opportunities they have of working, doubtleſs, deprives the Engliſh bell-founders of carrying their art to the ſame degree of perfection to which it has been raiſed in France, and in Germany in particular.

The outſide of the churches of London is as much over-charged with ornaments, as the inſide is deſtitute of them. St. Martin's, which I have juſt been ſpeaking of, may, in this reſpect, vie with the church of the Sorbonne at Paris. It has a great portico, built in the ſame proportion as that of the temple of Minerva at Athens. London has five or ſix churches of this magnificence almoſt uniform; a magnificence perhaps rather extravagant for buildings, neither lofty nor of any conſiderable extent, and under which they ſeem, as it were, to ſink.

Each pariſh has, at its head, a rector, who is, in ſome meaſure, the ſuperintendant of it. His whole labour is reduced to the article of preaching, when he thinks proper: the general buſineſs of the pariſh is left to a ſubordinate miniſter, who, with the title of curate, performs the parochial duties, at a fixed ſalary, and reckons with the rector for his dues; the latter allows him ſome inconſiderable perquiſites if he is ſatisfied with his ſervices †.

St. Paul's, Weſtminſter-abbey, and moſt of the Engliſh cathedrals, have retained their chapters.

* I have heard it affirmed, that the Carmelite nuns of France are obliged, by their conſtitution, to have in their churches, two bells of oppoſite and jarring tones; this renders their ringing analogous to their chaunting, and is intended as a ſpecies of mortification.

† Theſe rectors have often, at the ſame time, ſeveral pariſh churches, with canonries in cathedrals and collegiate churches. This they effect by means of diſpenſations, which are eaſily obtained from the archbiſhop of Canterbury. The re-uniting of theſe incompatible benefices in one perſon, was one of the chief complaints of the Proteſtants againſt the church of Rome; but perſonal intereſt eaſily reconciles all abuſes.

The beneficed clergy of the church of England are computed at 90 deans and archdeacons, 550 prebendaries, and about 20,000 miniſters, who are charged, either as principals or ſubſtitutes, with the care of pariſhes.

The cathedrals and collegiate churches, as likewiſe the abbies, had, before the Reformation, the ſame juriſdiction they have retained in France; and the extent of this juriſdiction was proportioned to the ſervile reſpect of the Engliſh for every thing belonging to the church. Theſe rights of juriſdiction were called liberties; a name to this day retained by the diſtrict of Weſtminſter-abbey, which, at the time of the Reformation, was reduced to a collegiate church. This liberty, perhaps, cauſed the diſtrict of that abbey to be choſen for the ſeſſions of parliament, as a place entirely neutral and exempt from all royal juriſdiction.

The ſame places, as aſylums, were ſecure from that royal juriſdiction, which was there ſet at defiance, by bankrupts, murderers, aſſaſſins, and even thoſe who were guilty of high treaſon. At the concluſion of a negotiation as ſecret, as well conducted, Henry the Seventh had obtained leave of Innocent the Eighth, to ſet a guard upon criminals guilty of high treaſon, and to ſeize upon the goods of bankrupts, who had taken refuge in theſe aſylums. That prince had occaſion for all his authority to get this agreement put in execution *: he did not even preſume to avail himſelf of it againſt Perkin, who diſputed the crown with him, and who, after his defeat, had taken refuge in the abbey of Beuley.

Buryings are articles which bring in large fees to the clergy. Theſe fees are the more conſiderable, as in all conditions of life, the magnificence of funerals

* See the Life of Henry the Seventh, by Lord Bacon.

makes

makes a branch of Engliſh luxury. The dead, who are buried in ſhrouds *, with pillows in their coffin, are carried, in a mourning-hearſe, to the pariſh church, where the laſt honours are paid them in a manner proportioned to the expence which the heirs are willing to defray.

I have been told that the precautions neceſſary to be taken in order to ſecure dead bodies from the craving anatomiſts, greatly increaſe the expence, by making it neceſſary to dig graves of an enormous depth: in a word, a bill which I was ſhewn of the expences for burying in a church-yard a child of one of the lower ſort of people, aged three years, amounted to two guineas. Chriſtenings are dear in proportion. Marriages are no leſs expenſive: the church of England baptizing all, as I have already obſerved, marrying all, and burying all, without diſtinction of belief or ſect, its fees, for all theſe ceremonies, are a ſort of fine which ſhe obliges diſſenters to pay. Even the Catholics themſelves ſubmit to the payment of this fine: their children can be entitled to nothing without being regiſtered at their pariſh church: With regard to their dead, over whom all the ceremonies of their religion are performed in private, they paſs through the hands of the curate of the pariſh, who, at receiving them, ſays, with John Choart in La Fontaine:

Monſieur le Mort, laiſſiez nous faire;
On vous en donnera de touter les facons:
Il ne s'agit que du ſalaire.

"Mr. Dead-man, let us do your buſineſs; you ſhall be rightly accommodated in every ſenſe: all you have to do is to pay well."

* In virtue of a law, the intent of which was to favour the woollen manufactures, theſe ſhirts, theſe pillows, and every thing made uſe of at funerals, muſt be woollen.

The ſervice for the dead is the ſame as the *nocturns* of the church of Rome. The two or three prayers mixed with them turn entirely upon the mercy of God towards his creatures, and upon the frailty and tranſitorineſs of human things, which a view of death exhibits to the living.

In purſuance of the example ſet by the firſt Reformers, the church of England has ſuppreſſed the ſacrifice and prayers intended to move the divine compaſſion in favour of the dead. They looked upon this ſacrifice and theſe prayers as the conſequence and reſult of that purgatory which they had reſolved to aboliſh; and, in this reſpect, they thought like the laſt divines of the church of Rome, perhaps without knowing it, certainly without any deſign.

The uſage of the primitive church would have given riſe to a general union of the minds of all men, if it had been judged expedient to revive it. They made a ſacrifice and offering, and communicated for the dead. This practice was in imitation of that of the Jews, the nature of which appears from the hiſtory of the Maccabees and the Miſna, a collection as authentic as valuable, of the political, civil and religious cuſtoms of the Jewiſh nation. In this collection we read, at the word *Sanhedrim*, that a criminal condemned to death, offered a ſacrifice on the very day of his execution; that he partook of it; and that this was intended as an atonement for his crime: and finally, that if *he was not in circumſtance to offer this ſacrifice, another offered it for him* *.

* This paſſage is cited in the Reflections upon the Chriſtian Religion, tom. ii. p. 72. by Mr. Ferrand, the friend and fellow-ſtudent, in ſome ſort, of the great Boſſuet. See likewiſe the *Symbolum fidei Judæorum*, publiſhed in 1569, by Genebrard.

This paſſage, if underſtood of thoſe who died in the ordinary courſe of nature, whilſt it explains that in the hiſtory of the Maccabees, ſufficiently accounts for the ſacrifice for the dead, borrowed from the Jews by the primitive Chriſtians, according to the obſervation of the Pſalmiſt: "The dead praiſe thee not, o Lord, nor thoſe who lie in the tomb; but we who are living bleſs thy name *."

This fact being acknowledged, there remains no point of diſpute, except concerning the manner of explaining *pro mortuis*. Some underſtand *pro* by *inſtead*, in the place of, *vice mortuorum*, and others, *for the relief of ſouls not yet purified*. 'Tis to this laſt ſenſe that purgatory owes its origin. If the Reformers had availed themſelves of the former ſenſe, it would have furniſhed them with a reſource indeed leſs compleat, than that which the Roman Catholic clergy found in praying for the dead, but which their ſucceſſors have reaſon to repent having neglected.

The preſbyterians, and the French refugees themſelves, have had, in their chapels, baptiſmal fonts, and near theſe chapels, church-yards or burying-grounds, with a legal power to keep regiſters of baptiſms and deaths, and to give extracts from them. This power they are ſaid to have been deprived of: I do not know upon what occaſion, or under what pretext. It is, at leaſt, to be preſumed, that the clergy of the church of England did not oppoſe their being deprived of that privilege; *is fecit cui profecit*.

* See a treatiſe by father Theophilus Raynaud, a jeſuit, *De communione pro mortuis*; the firſt edition of which, publiſhed in 1630, and corrected by the Congregation of the Index, was defended by its author in two tracts, inſerted in the 20th volume of the grand collection of his works. See likewiſe his treatiſe concerning the Sacraments. Bochard, *De baptiſmo pro mortuis*.

The methodiſts, though the lateſt ſect of the non-conformiſts, have near their tabernacle a church-yard, but without prejudicing or obſtructing the dues and rights of the pariſh. It was regulated that every one who lies buried in this church-yard, ſhould have an inſcription on his tomb, declaring the name of the pariſh to which he belonged: This is much the ſame practice as that at Paris, with regard to thoſe who have vaults appropriated to themſelves in the churches of monks or nuns.

The church of England obſerves, with regard to women, another ceremony, to which the wives of diſſenters ſometimes conform: I mean the ceremony of churching of women after lying-in.

I have ſeen the ceremony of confirmation performed at St. James's church: with the Engliſh it is no ſacrament, they acknowledge only baptiſm and the Lord's ſupper as ſuch *: 'tis no more than an honour done by the church of England to epiſcopacy. This ceremony was performed by a biſhop, but not by the biſhop of London. Being dreſſed in his rocket and lawn ſleeves, aſſiſted by two miniſters, going round the rails which incloſe the communion-table,

* It is not the fault of the Engliſh clergy, if the people are deprived of the benefit of confeſſion. The Liturgy authorizes it in two caſes. 1. By putting into the mouth of the miniſter, before the Lord's Supper is adminiſtered, an exhortation to thoſe whoſe conſcience is troubled with ſcruples or loaded with any great crime, to approach boldly, diſcover the ſtate of their minds, and receive, with the advice and conſolations they ſtand in need of, the grace of abſolution by the efficacious word of God. 2. By offering the ſame conſolation to the dying, and after confeſſion adminiſtering to them, if they deſire it, abſolution in theſe words: "May our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, who has left his church the power of pardoning all penitent ſinners, and all ſuch as put their truſt in him, forgive thee thy ſins: and by his authority with which I am entruſted, I abſolve thee of all thy ſins, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt. Amen."

and

and laying his hands upon the heads of two perſons at the ſame time, he, with his eyes lifted up to heaven, repeated a ſhort prayer with an air of great dignity and importance; which being over, he laid his hands upon the two next. The advanced age of many of thoſe who were confirmed, induced me to think that this ceremony is much neglected.

The ſtation of miniſters in London, in the country towns, and in the country itſelf, is, in proportion to their rank, very honourable *. The univerſities are the ordinary ſeminaries of clergymen. Youth, inſtructed in theſe places by public authority, imbibe no principles and prejudices, but ſuch as ſuit with the Engliſh government.

A college-life, continued by thoſe who intend for orders, generally gives them that ſelf-ſufficient, aſſuming, and almoſt inſolent air, which, in ſome meaſure, gains upon the inferior clergy of France. They almoſt all of them marry as ſoon as they get livings, and the only thing that perplexes them is the choice of a help-mate; as the wife of the miniſter is, in many reſpects, the ſecond perſon in the pariſh. To

* I muſt except the ſtation of chaplain to a nobleman. By a ſervile cringing, to which an Engliſhman in any other ſituation of life would never deſcend, the fawning clergyman obtains benefices in the gift of his patron. Thus circumſtanced, he reſembles thoſe eccleſiaſtics, who are attached to noble families in France, where they acquire influence, firſt as humble companions, then as friends, then as confidants. Some Engliſh chaplains attain the ſame end: a much greater number would, doubtleſs, attain it, if they had the reſource of confeſſion, and the direction of conſciences.

In other reſpects, the condition of the French chaplains and country curates was formerly the ſame as that of Engliſh chaplains. In Rabelais, we meet with a Mr. Ondart, curate of Baſché, who ſerved his lord as butler, as was then cuſtomary in France; and who, with his fine ſurplice, ſtole, and holy water, played the chief part in the tragi-comedy, with which the lord of Baſché entertained the pettifoggers belonging to the grand priory of St. Lovant. Rab. l. iv. c. 12.

ſupport their dignity, they manage like moſt of the clerks of farmer-generals in France; that is to ſay, they live, furniſh their houſes and bring up their children in a manner proportioned to their preſent income, often even to their pretenſions to a better benefice: in a word, if the living actually poſſeſſed, or that which they are in expectation of, amounts to two or three hundred guineas a year, they furniſh their houſes upon the footing of ſuch of their pariſhioners as have an income equivalent, whether it be from commerce or land.

When one of theſe miniſters happens to die, his children are often incumbered with his debts, and unable to earn their bread by working, or by many other creditable ways of life, which their education has uſed them to look upon as below them.

In theſe unfortunate circumſtances, the condition of the daughters is moſt to be pitied. Unable to reſolve upon getting their bread by labour, and aſhamed to beg, they ſometimes have recourſe to libertiniſm, as a way of life which, whilſt it exempts them from the neceſſity of working, may, at leaſt, preſerve them from beggary. Nothing is more common than for the children of the clergy to be in this deplorable condition, as the many and great charities which are intended to extricate them out of it, are by no means ſufficient for that purpoſe.

London every year furniſhes a contribution for theſe children, which proves the greatneſs of the evil by the remedy, and its being unable to obviate it. This contribution is voluntary. It is levied at St. Paul's church upon ſuch pious or curious ſouls, as are brought thither by a concert executed by the greateſt maſters of vocal and inſtrumental muſic in the capital. The concert is diſcontinued for a ſermon, which

which laſts about half an hour; and the whole entertainment is over in two hours. The choir of St. Paul's is the place for this exhibition, which, as it occurs but once in a twelvemonth, brings hither a prodigious concourſe of perſons, of all ranks in life, and of both ſexes.

The entrance of the church is, on the very morning of this concert, barricadoed in ſuch a manner, that people cannot gain admittance without paying their contribution to perſons who ſtand at the door to receive them.

I happened, on the eighth of May, the day of this ceremony, to paſs by St. Paul's church, when I followed the multitude that was entering; but met with nobody that could explain to me the cauſe of ſuch a concourſe of people. Within ſide the church door, I ſaw a kind of gang-way, and found myſelf between two large plates or baſons half filled with guineas; there ſtood ſome clergymen, who were talking to their acquaintance. My perplexity was removed by one of theſe gentlemen, who beckoned to me, and in French encouraged me to advance. He was ſo kind as to explain to me the nature and end of the ceremony; telling me, "that the charity which gave occaſion to it was voluntary; that ſeveral pious and well-diſpoſed perſons contributed to it amply; and that thoſe who came thither through curioſity, were expected to contribute for their entrance. French charity, added he ſmiling, is not obliged to give ſuch proofs of its zeal, and has not ſuch opportunities of diſplaying itſelf." "Such opportunities are not wanting to us, replied I; and we ſhew our charity in a nobler manner, and with leſs oſtentation than the Engliſh. Thoſe very children, whoſe wants are relieved by the Engliſh only once in a twelvemonth,

are

are by us brought up, educated, and admitted to a ſhare in our eſtates." He did not immediately ſee the drift of this raillery; but having afterwards taken my meaning, he ſqueezed my hand, and cried out, "French charity for ever:" offering, at the ſame time, to do all that lay in his power to ſerve me. Theſe offers immediately took effect: he diſpatched a young clergyman with me, who placed me in the choir in one of the moſt advantageous parts, both for hearing and ſeeing. I ſaw the perſon who introduced me as I was going out, and was informed by him that a very conſiderable ſum had been collected at the door. He, at the ſame time, gave me to underſtand, that a young gentleman had preſented himſelf in the croud, who did not appear to be diſpoſed to contribute, and that one of the eccleſiaſtics aſking him whether he was the ſon of a clergyman, he had made anſwer, "As likely as not. My father, continued he, lives upon his own eſtate, and has always a chaplain in his houſe."

From this condition of the clergy and their families compared with that of churchmen in Roman Catholic countries, it ſeems natural to infer that the celibacy to which the latter are condemned, is infinitely preferable to the liberty which the former have of marrying; whether we conſider the inconveniencies which attend their making uſe of this liberty, or the ill conſequences that reſult from it.

Happy or unfortunate, ſay the Engliſh, the ſons of the clergy enjoy the bleſſing of exiſtence; that is the greateſt of all bleſſings, that bleſſing which puts the moſt diſtreſt circumſtances upon a level with the moſt brilliant fortunes.

Mecene

Mecene a dit ; qu'on me rende impotent,
Cul-de-jatte, goutteux, manchot ; pourvu qu'en ſomme
Je vive, c'eſt aſſez : je ſuis plus que content.

'Twas a ſaving of Mecenas's. Let me be bed-rid, a cripple, gouty, or one-handed ; provided I live, 'tis enough : I am more than ſatisfied.

Be their condition what it will, theſe children contribute to population, and to increaſe the number of inhabitants in the three kingdoms and the colonies.

Public edification being the firſt duty of miniſters, their marriages prevent a great deal of ſcandal, which it would be impoſſible to conceal from the curious, prying and ſharp-ſighted ſectaries, their adverſaries, amongſt whom they live. Before the riſe of Lutheraniſm, the clergy of the church of Rome, free from theſe ſhackles, followed at random the impulſes of nature. Poggius, who was ſucceſſively in the ſervice of ſeven popes, in quality of ſecretary and confidant, anſwered the reproach made him by cardinal Julian de St. Angelo, for having had three children by a girl he kept, with a ſtroke of pleaſantry *.

The marriage-ſtate, with all the duties that ariſe from it, being attended with a variety of cares and troubles, ſuch clergymen as happen to be entangled in it, have no time to concern themſelves with other people's affairs, which for that very reaſon thrive the better : at leaſt, if we may form a judgement from

* *Exprobras me habere filios, quod clerico non licet ; ſine uxore, quod laicum non decet. Poſſum reſpondere, habere me filios, quod laicis expedit, & ſine uxore, qui eſt mos clericorum ab orbis exordio fideliter obſervatus.*

"You reproach me with having ſons, which is not proper for a clergyman ; without being married, which would be indecent even in a layman. I anſwer, that I have ſons, which is an advantage to a layman ; though unmarried, which is the cuſtom that has always been obſerved by the clergy from the very beginning of the world."

what

what they ſuffer in Roman Catholic countries, by the eagerneſs of churchmen to direct them.

On account of theſe engagements, the Engliſh clergy are not in their own country either aliens or the ſlaves of a foreign power: the ties which bind them to their children, unite them at the ſame time to the ſtate. Hence the clergy, as well as the biſhops, are always devoted to the prevailing party in the government: thus we find that in all the revolutions by which England has been agitated ſince the Reformation, the eſtabliſhed church has never taken the lead, but has quietly followed the impulſe given by the directing power *.

The ſects, whether religious or political, which have effected theſe revolutions, ſects entirely compoſed of married men, were, it is true, connected with the conſtitution, by the ſame ties which attached the miniſters of the eſtabliſhed church to it; but the attachment of thoſe married men was neither owing to their being poſſeſſed of benefices, nor to the hopes of obtaining them, nor to any pretenſions of having thoſe perpetuated in their family. A blind enthuſiaſm in the common people, and views as extenſive as profound in the leaders, as well with reſpect to themſelves as their poſterity, were the ſprings of theſe changes, in which, through *the word of God*, they caſt a jealous eye, not ſo much upon the authority as the poſſeſſions of the clergy.

Since the ſeveral different branches of the ſtate have no longer any object in view, but to keep the ground which ſome have gained, and others preſerved, England has been divided into ſeveral peaceable ſects, which, notwithſtanding their diverſity, are all agreed to look upon marriage as a fundamental article

* *Tortum digna ſequi potiùs quàm ducere funem.*

of

of religion, as the ſtate moſt conformable to the order of providence *, and all the duties which that ſtate enjoins, as the firſt duties of a citizen enlightened by religion. The numerous offspring, to whom a proper diſcharge of theſe duties gives birth, are ſo many pledges to the government of the ſubmiſſion and obedience of their fathers. And, indeed, what has not the head of a numerous family to apprehend from thoſe inteſtine commotions, which might renew the horrors of a civil war †; horrors of which, an hiſtorian ‡, animated with the love of his country and of truth, has given ſo lively a picture.

In a word, the variety of ſects is, at preſent, to England what the difference of families is to the whole ſtate. Their views claſh, their intereſts are incompatible, each of them aggrandizes and ſtrengthens itſelf at the expence of the reſt; but the love of the general good which conſtitutes their particular welfare, and the fear of a common danger which might threaten each individual, unite their intereſts and their views, at leaſt as long as hope ſhews itſelf, or the danger laſts. This oppoſition of views and intereſts contributes, like the claſhing of the ſeveral parts of the natural world, to the ſtrength and ſupport of the whole machine: *rerum concordia diſcors.*

* The conjugal union in England ſupplies the place of the tie, which the nation might find in the unity of religion. They marry: therefore there is a God. Bayle lays down this maxim in the 16th of his New Letters againſt Maimbourg: he unfolds, eſtabliſhes, and demonſtrates it, in a manner the more ſatisfactory, as it is equally founded on ſentiment and reaſon.

† ——— *Animi metuunt paterni*
Injurioſo ne pede proruat (fortuna)
Stantem columnam, vel populus frequens
Ad arma ceſſantes, ad arma
Provocet, imperiumque frangat. Hor. lib. iii. od. 35.

‡ Mr. Hume.

ANCIENT

ANCIENT MONASTERIES.

THE love of perfection innate in man, exalted by melancholy, and artfully worked upon by perſons above the common level, has given riſe to theſe new ſects: in this reſpect, they have one common origin with the old religious orders, which improving upon each other in refinements of zeal to poſſeſs nothing, to enjoy nothing, to die of want *, at laſt came to ſhare the landed eſtates of the greateſt part of Europe.

Tithes were †, as well as in the reſt of Europe, the firſt milk of theſe riſing eſtabliſhments: the biſhops, miſtaking them to be alienable, deprived the pariſh prieſts of them, which gave riſe to an animoſity as irreconcileable as unedifying, between the ſecular and regular clergy. It even reached the ſuperior clergy, who ſometimes made unavailing efforts to bring things to their ancient and natural ſtate. England had prelates, who acted with the ſame vigour, with regard to this eſtabliſhment, as was exerted in France, in oppoſition to the monks and the popes who patronized them, by the learned Ives of Chartres ‡, and Raoul biſhop of Saintes; or as that firm-

* *Eſurire docebant, & diſcipulos invenerunt.*
Πεινῆν διδάσκει, κ᾽ μαθητὰς λαμβάνει.
"They taught to faſt, and found diſciples."

Diog. Laert. l. vii. has preſerved to us this verſe of an antient comic poet, concerning the chief of the Stoics. The different ſects of philoſophers, not excepting that of Epicurus, at leaſt as Gaſſendi has repreſented it, were all founded upon the deſire of perfection. When I compare the founders of monaſtic orders to the antient philoſophers, I ſpeak with the monk William of Newbury, who, in a paſſage which I ſhall cite preſently, calls them *Chriſtianos philoſophantes*, "philoſophiſing Chriſtians."

† In their origin, voluntary oblations, but which have ſince become an abſolute duty. See Grimaudet, Treatiſe of Tythes, book ii. chap. 5.

‡ *Quâ audaciâ*, ſaid Yves of Chartres to the monks, in his 280th letter, *quâ audaciâ, ô monachi, exigere præſumitis ubi nihil exhibetis? Si ita vultis, baptiſate naſcentes, ſepelite morientes, viſitate jacentes,*

neſs ſhewn in the tenth century, by the majority of the ſuperior clergy of France, at the council held at St. Dennis in 990. Upon this laſt occaſion * the biſhops almoſt received the crown of martyrdom from the monks: on every diſpute of a ſimilar nature, the prelates were bitterly inveighed againſt in the monkiſh writings. In this manner is Roger, archbiſhop of York, a confidant to Henry the Second, blackened and traduced by William of Newbury, in the fifth chapter of the third book of his hiſtory: *Quod deteriorem fecerat in omnibus conditionem religioſorum*, (whom he calls *Chriſtianos philoſophantes*) *quam clericorum.* "Becauſe he had made the condition of the religious in every reſpect, worſe than that of the clergy.

copulate nubentes; in eccleſiâ denique aperiat os ſuum monachus, cujus officium eſt ſedere & tacere. "With what audaciouſneſs, ſaid Yves of Chartres to the monks, in his 28th letter, with what boldneſs ye monks, do you preſume to exact where you do nothing? If you have a mind to act, baptiſe thoſe who are juſt born, bury the dead, viſit the ſick, marry couples diſpoſed for wedlock; in fine, let a monk, whoſe duty it is to ſit ſtill and be ſilent, open his mouth in the church and hold forth." To ſtrike at the ſource of this abuſe, it was ſufficient to infer the indefeaſibleneſs of tythes from their inalienability.

* Aimoin has left us a narrative of this ſcandalous ſcene, in the life of St. Abbo, abbot of Fleury, who had played one of the chief parts in it. *Ortâ ſulitò ſeditione, cum ſermo ageretur de decimis eccleſiarum, reſiſtente eis in hac re venerabile dei cultore Abbone, tantus in epiſcopos timor irruit ut, publicâ ſtatione relictâ, paſſim quiſque diffugeret: inter quos Seguinus, Senonum archiepiſcopus primatum in ea ſynodo ſibi uſurpans, primatum quoque fugæ arripuit, & inter fugiendum ſecuri inter ſcapulas ictus, lutoque a popularibus oblitus ægrè evaſit.* "A ſedition having riſen on a ſudden, when the tythes of the clergy came to be diſcuſſed, the venerable and religious abbot oppoſing them, the biſhops were ſeized with ſuch terror that they all fled, having left their public ſtations; amongſt the reſt, Seguin the archbiſhop of Soiſſons, though he pretended to the firſt place in that ſynod, was the firſt to fly, and being in his flight wounded between the ſhoulders with an axe, and rolled in the dirt by the people, he with difficulty eſcaped."

In

In the century following, the buſineſs of tythes had raiſed great diſturbances throughout a conſiderable part of Germany. Sigefroy, biſhop of Mentz, had, by main violence, ſeized upon all the tythes belonging to the territory of his dioceſe; and being ſupported by the emperor Henry the Fourth, he continued to enjoy them for five years. The affair being laid before a council, the biſhops anſwered the complaints of the abbots of Fuld and Halberſtat, that the tythes had perhaps been a neceſſary milk to the infancy of monaſteries, which might eaſily do without them in their preſent ſtate of manhood. At laſt the abbots, to compromiſe the matter, had conſented to ſhare the tythes with the biſhop, who ſtill enjoys them by the ſame right.

In the revolution which happened under Henry the Eighth, and his ſon, the tythes were, in ſome counties of England, encroached upon by the nobles; in others, the inferior clergy were reinſtated in them; in other places the people ſhook them off, availing themſelves of the aſſertion of their countryman Wickliff: "that they are nothing elſe but alms which the people may diſpenſe with beſtowing, if thoſe to whom they are given, don't live according to the canons of the church:" an aſſertion which had been before advanced by certain Italian canoniſts, who gave very ſharp reaſons for it.

By means of commendams the biſhops of France have recovered the tythes, but 'tis at the expence of the inferior clergy, whom this meaſure has not reconciled to the firſt uſurpers.

With regard to monaſtic inſtitutions, England was a ſort of land of promiſe to that fraternity. An hiſtorian has obſerved, that in the troubles which, about the middle of the twelfth century, filled the reign

reign of king Stephen, a greater number of monaſteries had been erected in this kingdom than in the whole preceding century *.

We have obſerved the ſame taſte revived in France in the laſt century, with a fervour which would hardly have been conceived, if the monuments that prove it were not viſible throughout the kingdom: the pariſh of St. Sulpice alone ſaw, about this time, erected at Paris, in its precincts:

The little Auguſtinians, in	—	1609
Nov. des Jeſuites, —	—	1610
Carmes Dechaux, —	—	1611
The Calvary, —	—	1625
Jacobins, —	—	1632
Belle-chaſſe, —	—	1635
Precious Blood, —	—	1636
Recollects, —	—	1640
St. Joſeph, —	—	1641
Theatines, —	—	1648
Mercy, —	—	1651
Our Lady in the Wood,	—	1654
The Holy Sacrament,	—	1655
The little Cordelier Nuns,	—	1660
The Premontrés, —	—	1661
Chriſtian Inſtruction,	—	1662

* *Multò plura ſub brevitate temporis quo Stephanus regnavit, quàm centum retrò annis, ſervorum & ancillarum Dei monaſteria initium ſumpſerunt.* "More monaſteries both of monks and nuns, were founded during the ſhort reign of king Stephen, than for a hundred years before." Guil. Newbr. l. ii. c. 15. See the Monaſticum Anglicanum publiſhed by Dugdale, in 1655, 1661, and 1673; it makes three volumes in folio. Upon running through this collection, I was ſtruck with the prodigious number of religious houſes eſtabliſhed in England by the order of Fontevrault. In theſe convents the Engliſh women found means to gratify their ruling paſſion, of poſſeſſing the ſupreme power at home.

Foreign Miſſions,	—	—	1663
The Conſolation,	—	—	1669
Pantemont,	—	—	1671
Viſitation,	—	—	1673
Orphan Girls,	—	—	1680
The good Paſtor,	—	—	1688
The Carmelite Nuns,		—	1689
Notre Dame des Prez,		—	1690
St. Tecle,	—	—	1700
St. Valere,	—	—	1706

I do not place in the number of theſe new foundations, the mad-houſe, the hoſpitals of incurable, the convaleſcents and the Charité, the invalids, the Mazarine college, the ſeminaries of St. Sulpice, of St. Lewis, &c.

The multiplication of the houſes of the ancient orders, and the creation of a number of new ſocieties, have appeared to the learned Spaniard Diego of Saavedra, as contrary to the intereſt of the ſtate as to that of religion, and even to the monaſteries themſelves. In the 66th of his political emblems, conſidering this multiplication with all the reſerve becoming an author writing under the power of the inquiſition, he reckons it amongſt the cauſes of Spain's being ſo ill peopled, and the Spaniſh monarchy's being weakened and reduced. He then takes ſhelter under the authority of the third council of Lateran, (which, in the very age that gave riſe to the Mendicant orders, expreſsly forbids the eſtabliſhment of any new religious ſociety), to revive the memory of the remonſtrances by which the council of Caſtile had unſucceſsfully applied to king Philip the Third, that the age for commencing the noviciate ſhould be fixed to ſixteen, and the age for making the vows to twenty:

verum,

verùm, adds the wiſe Spaniard, *confidentior pietas & animi ſcrupulus prudentiæ parum congruens incommoda illa facilè diſſimulavit.* "But the confidence of piety and the ſcrupulouſneſs of ſoul, which is little compatible with prudence, eaſily overlooked thoſe inconveniences."

A monaſtic life was but too well ſuited to the ſerious and gloomy temper of the Engliſh nation *, not to make a moſt rapid progreſs in that kingdom; in conſequence of this temper, it continued to retain its firſt fervour in that country longer than in any other; and upon this account England merited the appellation of the *Iſle of Saints*. The exceſſes of this ſort which its inhabitants ran into, ſerved not a little to give a colour to the violent methods adopted by Henry the Eighth and his ſucceſſors, in order to form a new people.

The three kingdoms are, at this day, ſtrewed with the ruins of theſe pious foundations; which, upon different accounts, are reſpected by the whole nation †. Fathers incumbered with a large family,

* This taſte was ſo congenial to the climate of England, that the Saxon dynaſties ſaw their firſt kings, when hardly converted to Chriſtianity, deſcend from the throne by their own choice, get their heads ſhaved, and paſs the remainder of their days in a cloiſter. The hiſtory of the other barbarous nations, who ſettled in Europe and embraced the Chriſtian religion, furniſhes no example of a fervour of devotion ſo general or ſo conſtant. Before the conqueſt of Britain by the Romans, Druidiſm had occaſioned the ſame zeal. *Diſciplina Druidum in Britanniâ reperta*, ſays Cæſar, *atque in Galliam inde tranſlata; & nunc qui diligentius eam rem cognoſcere volunt, plerumque illò, diſcendi cauſâ, proficiſcuntur.* "The diſcipline of the Druids had its firſt origin in Britain, and from thence paſſed over into Gaul; and thoſe who are now deſirous of making a proficiency in that doctrine, and becoming thoroughly acquainted with it, generally repair to that kingdom, in order to ſtudy it, and endeavour to become adepts in the knowledge taught by that ſect."

† The Athenians had left the temples of Attica, violated by the Perſians, in ruins: theſe ruins were in the eye of poſterity,

look upon them as aſylums which might have afforded reception to their children; gentlemen of fortune view them as fine eſtates, on which a ſon of theirs might make a figure as a mitred abbot; travellers conſider them in the light of inns, where diſcreet hoſpitality * reconciled the jealouſy of the people to the opulence of the houſe; foreigners regard them as objects which furniſhed matter for a compariſon between England and their reſpective countries: in fine, the lovers of antiquity conſider them as pious foundations, whoſe magnificence was an ornament to the country in which they were erected. Theſe edifices are ſome of the principal objects of inveſtigation of the ſociety of antiquaries; this ſociety, at different times, cauſes plans and views of them to be taken, which now make a curious collection.

To the ancient poſſeſſors of theſe places, to the Benedictines, the Ciſtercians, the Bernardines, the Cluniſts, the Fontevriſts, &c. have ſucceeded the Preſbyterians, the Anabaptiſts, the Quakers, the Herrenhutters, the Methodiſts, &c. all of whom are fathers of families, all of whom ſerve the ſtate, either in perſon or by their children, in domeſtic and foreign trade, in the colonies, in the church, in war, and at ſea.

What zealous Catholic, upon ſeeing ſo ſtrange a metamorphoſis, but has a right to apply to England,

monuments of the danger to which public liberty had been expoſed, and of the valour of thoſe who had ſacrificed themſelves to preſerve it. Pauſan. l. ii and 20. Iſoorat, Paneg.

* The 28th of Peter de Blois's letters, turns upon the hoſpitality of the ancient monks of England, and the degeneracy of their ſucceſſors; this ſubject is treated with equal livelineſs and energy.

what

what pope St. Leo ſaid of Pagan Rome*? But England has by this change gained a great increaſe of inhabitants, an exceſs of whom ſhe can never fear†; eſtabliſhments as numerous, as ſolidly uſeful with reſpect to the ſciences, the arts, and all the wants of human nature; a people amongſt whom thoſe of learned profeſſions are not educated in principles and prejudices incompatible with the views of the government, &c.

The Engliſh maintain, that France is no way a gainer by the diminution which the monaſtic ſtate ſuffers every day in that kingdom; that it would be in no reſpect the better for its entire ſuppreſſion; in a word, that the monks, both for number and every thing laid to their charge, are greatly ſurpaſſed by that vaſt number of abbés, who, at Paris, ſeem to live for nothing but to eat and ſleep.

With regard to the cultivation of land, it may very well be doubted whether the kingdom would be at all bettered by it, at leaſt, by thoſe who, knowing the preſent ſtate of agriculture in France, cannot be ignorant that the lands, and farms belonging to the monks, to the knights of Malta, &c. are the beſt cultivated in the kingdom; that their farms are kept in the beſt order, and the farmers in the eaſieſt circumſtances. If we caſt an eye on the moſt diſtant tracts of Italy, this doubt will be ſtill farther juſtified, when we ſee a great part of that fine country of no value at all, except in ſuch diſtricts as are

* *Magnum ſibi videbatur aſſumpſiſſe religionem, quia nullam reſpuebat falſitatem.* "It thought itſelf become very religious, becauſe it rejected no falſehood." Sermon ii. de Apoſt. Petro & Paulo.

† The firſt of God's benedictions on Abraham: *multiplicabo ſemen tuum ſicut ſtellas cœli, & velut arenam quæ eſt in littore maris.* Gen xxii. 17. "I will multiply thy ſeed as the ſtars of heaven, and as the ſand upon the ſea-ſhore."

immediately dependant upon wealthy monaſteries. One thing at leaſt is certain, namely, that England as well as France is indebted to the ancient monks for the firſt grubbing up of its lands, the firſt ideas of a melioration, the drying up of marſhes, and all the eſtabliſhments neceſſary as well for the conſtruction of that prodigious number of buildings which the ancient monaſteries had within their incloſure, as for all the wants of numerous communities.

Du Cange's Dictionary informs us, at the word *Hoſpes*, that the clergy rendered their land valuable by ſharing it for the quit-rent, with ſuch farmers as were invited thither by property. It was this meaſure that cauſed France to begin to grow populous again in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It was this that enabled the famous Suger to double the revenues of the abbey of St. Dennis. The collection of French hiſtorians, by Du Cheſne, preſents us with the memoirs of that abbé's adminiſtration, his will which exhibits the reſult of it, and a ſort of balance of accounts; laſtly, with the proclamation, which he publiſhed in 1145; and according to which, the territory of Vaucreſſon, near Verſailles, that he had juſt grubbed, and where he had built houſes and a church, was peopled in a very ſhort time. Theſe pieces are well worth the ſtudy and attention of thoſe who have colonies either to plant or direct.

The reader will, perhaps, oppoſe this obſervation by that of the learned Abbe le Bœuf, in his hiſtory of the dioceſe of Paris, relative to the depopulation and annihilation, as it were, into which the diſtricts of Chateaufort and Chevreuſe have fallen, ſince they came into the hands of the nuns of St. Cyr. But the ſource of this depopulation, unknown to lands poſſeſſed by monks, holds only with regard to the

the eſtates of noblemen, which are managed by ſtewards.

The example of Henry the Eighth had been propoſed to our Henry the Fourth. It was obſerved to him, "That a king of France, deſirous of employing his uſeleſs ſubjects, for the ſecurity of the ſtate, ſhould lay out what goes to the church in raiſing ſoldiers, without meddling with thoſe who have the care of ſouls, and conſequently, might keep on foot three armies, each of one hundred thouſand men and a hundred cannon; might ſupply his garriſons with arms; pay his officers; take off a third part of the taxes, and put a million of money every year into his coffers*." Thoſe grandees who ſuggeſted ſuch views to Henry the Fourth, and thoſe who ſhould happen now to have the like ſentiments †, do not, doubtleſs, form the ſame eſtimate of the divine grandeur as they do of their own, which they meaſure by the number of idle perſons about them. Have we not ſeen M. Silhouette abuſed and turned into ridicule, for making an attempt to reduce this grandeur, by laying a tax upon coaches and liveries!

Happily for England, Henry the Eighth, laying the axe to the root of eccleſiaſtical immunities, had an eye chiefly to the ſcarcity of money, which equally

* D'Aubigne, Hiſt. univ. l. iii. c. 25.

† M. Colbert had ſuch views as theſe, but in moderation; and he diſcovered his mind by the edict of 1688, *with regard to the reformation of the monaſteries.* The monks renewed the clamours which had, in the preceding age, blown the fire of civil wars. The edict of 1668, and the reflections with which M. Colbert cauſed it to be accompanied, were attacked with a virulent invective, publiſhed by the Jacobin, who wrote the *Fatalité de St. Cloud.* That tract was entitled, The new apparition of Luther and Calvin, in reflections upon the edict of the reformation of monaſteries, with an examen of the treatiſe of the political power, with regard to the age proper for the religious profeſſion. Paris, 1669.

affected both himself and his court favourties. Their neceſſities threw into commerce the greateſt part of the church lands, which were adjudged to the higheſt bidder. Theſe ſpoils, either reunited to the royal domain, or left in their natural ſtate to courtiers, would have been doubly loſt: the royal domain and the great proprietors would never have been gainers by them like the firſt poſſeſſors; they would always have been ſacred to the bulk of the nation, which, being now poſſeſſed of them, manages them in a manner equally advantageous to the proprietor, who is intereſted to improve them in proportion to their high value *; and to the ſtate, the moſt conſiderable part of whoſe wealth conſiſts in the products of agriculture. The Engliſh, when they recal to memory this great atchievement of Henry the Eighth, may ſay with the renowned chief of antiquity, "We ſhould have been undone, if we had not been ruined!"

Before I drop this ſubject, I muſt endeavour to draw a picture of the behaviour of the Engliſh ſectaries to each other, from the manner in which the ſeveral religious orders live together.

Theſe orders have no love, and but little eſteem for each other; they ſhew their mutual jealouſy openly. The moſt regular, learned, and opulent, avail themſelves of their regularity, knowledge, and wealth, to look down with an eye of contempt upon thoſe orders which lead a life of idleneſs, ignorance, and beggary. What troubles both in church and ſtate have been excited by their rivalſhips and jealouſies, when ſovereigns, either through weakneſs or ſome

* ——— *Coacta*
Ut quamvis avido parerent arva colono.

other

other cauſe, have been unable to keep them in awe!

Except at theſe critical times, religious orders live together like thoſe dogs in a yard, which are,

" Companions in the ſame houſe, and have one " common maſter."

La Fontaine's fable of the Ape and the Cat." that is to ſay, with an appearance of unanimity, which is in no danger of being diſſolved by a little backbiting or a few ſquabbles, almoſt unavoidable in a community.

Such is, at this day, the behaviour of theſe Engliſh ſectaries to each other: they have formerly ſeen times as turbulent as the preſent age is peaceable; in thoſe days the Presbyterians or Puritans long acted the principal part,

THE PURITANS.

The deſpotiſm of the court of Rome appeared to be the chief object of the ſolicitude and zeal of that ſect. They ſaw this deſpotiſm continued in the epiſcopacy which Henry the Eighth had retained. They endeavoured to raiſe the jealouſy of the ſovereign, by comparing each prelate to that inſolent archbiſhop of York, who, ſeeing at his feet the renowned William the Conqueror, ſaid to thoſe who were in a hurry to raiſe him, " *Sinite illum jacere ad pedes Petri* *," " Suffer him to lie at the feet of Peter." They exhauſted themſelves in declamations, to prove that Rome and epiſcopacy were born enemies to royalty and to all temporal authority, and that ſubmiſſive ſubjects and a faithful people were to be found in their ſect alone.

* Guil. Neubr. l. ii. p. 2.

Their

Their principles ſoon changed with their circumſtances: at the firſt appearance of a perſecution they proved, from God's own word, that revolt became a neceſſary remedy to ſubjects whoſe conſciences were forced, and they acted in conſequence.

Prynne, a zealous Presbyterian, demonſtrated, *ex profeſſo*, that it is lawful to uſe the ſword againſt hereticks; a demonſtration, which, in 1688, a Benedictine monk retorted againſt the French Proteſtants, who complained of the ſeverities then inflicted upon them.

Even before the Presbyterians had attained to that pitch of grandeur to which their perſecuting ſpirit helped to raiſe them, they had declared, they had preached, and had even cauſed it to be printed in their profeſſion of faith in the reign of queen Elizabeth, that kings are ſubordinate like their ſubjects to the authority of the eccleſiaſtical magiſtrate. "Princes, ſaid Cartwright, one of their principal writers, ſhould ſubmit to the church, lay at its feet their ſceptres and their crowns, and lick the duſt of its footſteps." Did Gregory the Seventh ever ſpeak to ſovereigns in a ſtyle more haughty or more arrogant?

France ſhews us the ſame variations in the language and conduct of the religioniſts and leaguers. They are to be ſeen in the requeſts and ſupplications of the Huegonots addreſſed to Francis the Firſt and Henry the Second, compared with the *Vindiciæ contra tyrannos*, and with the treatiſe *De poteſtate magiſtratus in ſubditos*, &c. What a multiplicity of arguments did the Catholics oppoſe to theſe principles of revolt! To the diſgrace of human reaſon, thoſe ſelf-ſame Roman Catholics were afterwards ſeen to adopt thoſe very principles, and make them the baſis of the league,

league, which they entered into againſt Henry the Fourth. Theſe principles were inceſſantly inculcated in the ſermons, declamations, and libels, of Commolet, Boucher, and the chief incendiaries. A French biſhop, William Roſe biſhop of Senlis and an advocate general, dared to own them; the former in a treatiſe, intitled *De juſta R. P. Chriſtianæ in reges impios auctoritate*; the latter in a libel of 260 pages, with the title of *Ludovici d'Orleans expoſtulatio*: writings in which we find with aſtoniſhment, a verbal repetition of the authorities and examples cited in the *Vindiciæ contra tyrannos*, and in the treatiſe *De poteſtate magiſtratus in ſubditos*. Alternately, and according to the circumſtances *, Proteſtants and Catholics ſung in chorus, with the veſtry-keeper of the holy chapel:

Pour ſoutenir nos droits que le ciel autoriſe,
Abimons tout plutot: c'eſt l'eſprit de l'Egliſe †.

"In ſupport of our rights, which are authoriſed by heaven, let us make a general havock: it is the ſpirit of the church."

Part of the ancient religious orders, and all the modern ones, adopted the regicide maxims: they neceſſarily adopted them, and they will always do the ſame in ſimilar circumſtances. Theſe maxims, now univerſally exploded, had been received by the Je-

* *Privatæ cauſæ pietatis aguntur obtentu, et cupiditatum quiſque ſuarum religionem habet veluti pediſſequam. S. Leo epiſt. ad Theodoſium.*

† "God's death! the goods of the church! O no, no; the Engliſh St. Thomas was willing to die for them: if I died, ſhould I not be a ſaint likewiſe?" ſaid brother John des Entomeures, arming himſelf with the croſs againſt the ſoldiers of Picrochole, who ranſacked his convent. Rab. l. i. c. 17.

ſuits,

ſuits, who preſerved them with as much care as the Guebres watch the ſacred fire: this was indeed in their hands a ſort of ſacred fire, with which they might have ſet the whole world in a conflagration, whenever they thought proper; but which, being taken out of their hands, by their own miſmanagement, has conſumed themſelves *.

The ſage Montaigne, ſtruck with this oppoſition of ſentiments, exclaimed, "See the ſtrange imprudence with which we diſpute ſacred maxims, and how we have rejected and reſumed them, according as the face of affairs has changed in public ſtorms. This ſolemn queſtion, "whether it is lawful for ſubjects to rebel, and turn their arms againſt their prince in defence of their religion?" was maintained, as you may remember, by many mouths laſt year, and was the chief prop of one party, whilſt the negative was the ſupport of another; hear from what quarter comes the voice and inſtruction both of one and the other—I ſee this evidently, that we do our utmoſt to make religion ſubſervient to our paſſions †."

Let us now return to England. The preference given by James the Firſt and his ſucceſſor to the church of England, ſoon tired the patience of the Presbyterian party. Thoſe of that ſect who could not bear what they called the abomination of deſolation in the holy place, immediately left their country, and went over in crowds to America, where the ſettlement which they made at Maſſachuſet, to

* "And a fire was kindled in their company; the flame burnt up the wicked, the earth was opened, and ſwallowed up Dathan, and covered the company of Abiram." Pſalm cv.

† This paſſage of the twelfth chapter of the ſecond book of Montaigne's Eſſays is not to be found in the firſt edition of 1580. Montaigne added it a ſhort time before his death, after the Catholic had openly made profeſſion of the principles, which they had, till then oppoſed in the Proteſtant writers.

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the north of Maryland, has by fifty years preceded every Engliſh eſtabliſhment on the continent of America. Being in this colony left to themſelves, and to their enthuſiaſm, warmed by their conſtant ſkirmiſhes with the ſavages round them, they, with a thouſand extravagant ideas of reformation and rigid purity, ſplit themſelves into a variety of parties, which perſecuted each other. In the mean time this colony, which was ſoon in a flouriſhing condition, became as it were the nurſery of the colonies now poſſeſſed by England in North America; and, notwithſtanding its frequent and numerous emigrations to Great Britain, it ſtill has above 50,000 inhabitants.

Such of the Presbyterians as a leſs degree of enthuſiaſm ſuffered to ſtay in England and weather the ſtorm, came at laſt, in the days of Charles the Firſt. *to ſubject the ſcepter and crown to their church*, when the Independents, availing themſelves of the principles which had ſecured the victory to that party, ſeized upon the fruits they were upon the point of gathering.

From the time of this revolution, what had appeared to the Presbyterians, whilſt in power, as conſummate wiſdom, was no longer conſidered by them in any other light but that of a tumultuous anarchy. They expreſſed this diſſatisfaction in a work, the four parts of which were publiſhed ſucceſſively in the courſe of the years 1648, 1649, and 1651 *; a work which procured its author the honour of being ſent to the tower by Oliver Cromwell †.

* With the title of *De Anarchiâ Anglicanâ.*

† Cromwell, as ſoon as he had attained the height of his wiſhes, conſidered ſubmiſſion to the powers in being as an indiſpenſable

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This diſcontent was not confined to writings: Charles the Second owed his reſtoration to it. The church of England had been the firſt pretext, and one of the principal cauſes, of the revolt. The Presbyterians brought about the reſtoration of that likewiſe; they would even have reſtored the Pope himſelf, if his reſtoration, by delivering them from the Independents, had opened even the remoteſt proſpect of ſucceſs to their pretenſions.

They afterwards helped to haſten the fall of James the Second; but the revolution did not better their condition. The church of England gained ground by it, as well by the advantages which king William's policy ſecured to it, as by his ſucceſs in gaining over the moſt eminent of the Presbyterian party to the church, and attaching them to its intereſts, by benefices.

The houſe of Hanover having continued this ſyſtem, the church of England gained new ſtrength by expanding itſelf, and has acquired a ſuperiority over the diſſenting communions, which ſeems to have ſecured it from all the efforts of their jealouſy and malice.

King William, who was educated in the boſom of Puritaniſm or rigid Calviniſm, had found by his own experience, how oppoſite the maxims of that ſect were to the authority which he aimed at eſtabliſhing in England: they had, in his early infancy, deprived him of the Stadholderſhip, which was hereditary to his family.

The misfortunes of Charles the Firſt owed their origin to the maxims which influenced the conduct

duty. The notes upon Hudibras, tom. iii. p. 332. contain a ſermon preached by Cromwell himſelf, upon the text of St. Paul, *Omnis anima poteſtatibus*, &c. *A popolo pazzo*, ſays the Italian proverb, *prete ſpiritato*.

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of the Scotch with reſpect to that prince. The Scotch themſelves had diſcovered them in the hiſtory of the troubles of their country in the years 1638, 39, and 40; a hiſtory which fills 600 pages in octavo, ſaid in the title page to be printed at Dantzic, but in fact printed in Holland, by Blaeu. This work, in which the different events, their cauſes, and their various ſprings, are unfolded, with all the confidence that fanaticiſm can inſpire, had been profoundly meditated upon by king William, who could not ſee, without that emotion which even a reader, not intereſted, can hardly avoid feeling, by what degrees a blind hatred to epiſcopacy led the Scotch army to deliver up the unfortunate Charles the Firſt to Cromwell, a hatred in which the three millions of florins were not forgotten, which that prince had engaged, by the treaty of the fifth of September 1640, to pay to *his brethren of Scotland*, by way of indemnity.

I have read this hiſtory, which is written in elegant Latin *; and I doubt that, notwithſtanding all the proteſtations of reſpect for the kingly power and perſon of Charles the Firſt, which make part of the deliberations, reſolutions, and remonſtrances, that have been there inſerted at full length, no Engliſh monarch, who has given it a peruſal, will be at all diſpoſed to eſtabliſh Calviniſm as the predominant religion of his kingdom.

To the Engliſh Puritans let us join thoſe French Refugees, who are united with them by Calviniſm. They do not, however, form one body: the French Refugees, though they all underſtand Engliſh, have

* With this title, *Rerum nuper in regno Scotiæ geſtarum hiſtoria, ſeu verius commentarium cauſas, occaſiones, progreſſus horum motuum breviter et dilucidè proponens, ſimul cum ſynopſi concordiæ, quantum hactenus inita eſt; per Irenæum Philaleten Eleuterum, Dantiſci*, 1641.

ſermons,

ſermons, a liturgy, and miniſters of their own *. Their liturgy is that of Geneva, from whence come the miniſters, who read prayers and preach to them in French.

I have aſſiſted at their ſervice: it conſiſts of pſalms, which are ſung in French; of ſermons and prayers. A young miniſter, whom I heard preach, was juſt arrived fron Geneva; he had the air, the deportment, the tone, and the whole outward appearance, of a ſpruce abbé. He explained, in a connected diſcourſe, how Chriſt had been a ſtumbling-block to the Jews, folly to the Greeks, *&c.* †; and this diſcourſe was as empty of matter, as the ſtyle was ſmooth and eaſy. I took notice, that *the divine man*, *that divine man*, *the divine legiſlator*, were the only circumlocutions, made uſe of by him to denote Jeſus Chriſt.

In the prayers for the king and the royal family of England, inſerted in the liturgy of theſe Refugees, they add one, as affecting as it is ſolemn, by which they requeſt it of God, that he would, in his mercy, be pleaſed to ſoften the hearts of ſovereigns irritated againſt his people. This prayer, uttered in England, in an aſſembly of Frenchmen, ſtruck me the more, as I knew how they ſtood affected with regard to France. It is the moſt lively affection, not only in the few that remain of the firſt Refugees, but in the third and fourth generation. They all acknowledge no other home but France: they look upon England as a foreign country; and they firmly hope, that a new Cyrus, by breaking their chains, will reſtore them to that land which is the object of their wiſhes.

* Great part of the French Refugees uſe the liturgy of the church of England, in their own Language. T.

† *Ad Corinth. ep.* i. *c.* 1.

The firſt Refugees were enemies to France; enemies whoſe deſpair greatly promoted king William's cauſe; they furniſhed him with gazetteers, writers, ſoldiers, engineers and officers, with whom he had the higheſt reaſon to be ſatisfied. Fournier, a French refugee was the inventor and director of that infernal machine which the Engliſh, in 1693, launched againſt St. Maloe *. The miſchief which they did their country, their good wiſhes in favour of England, and the pleaſure with which they behold the misfortunes of France, proceed from the love which they ſtill retain for their native ſoil: they are like lovers, who cannot baniſh from their hearts a miſtreſs who has uſed them ill; they will again devote themſelves to her intirely, as ſoon as ſhe appears to reſtore her affections to them. Martial, with a heart torn with ſuch a conflict of paſſion, exclaimed,

Odi & amo: quare id faciam ſi forte requiris,
Neſcio; ſed fieri ſentio et excrucior.

To know thorougly the warmth and the whole force of theſe ſentiments, it is ſufficient to hint to theſe French refugees ſome particular circumſtance which ſhews in the court of France a diſpoſition to recall them:

Veræ voces tunc demum pectore ab imo
Eliciuntur.

All unanimouſly conclude for leaving England, with an alacrity which can have its ſource only in the tendereſt affection †.

I accidentally became acquainted with an old gentleman of Dauphine, who had quitted France and

* See The Intereſts of England ill underſtood, 2d edition, p. 174. and thoſe that follow.

† Their ſituation is pretty nearly the ſame in which the edict of May 1765 has left the civil officers in France, whom ſhe has diſmiſſed; born inveterate enemies to the new adminiſtration ſo long

the French ſervice at the time of the revocation of the edict of Nantz: being a man of family, he at firſt, through a delicacy of ſentiment, declined ſerving againſt his country; but afterward found himſelf obliged, by poverty, to deſcend to the low employment of a ſpy. During the ſiege of Liſle in Flanders, he paſſed the day in the town, and the night in the camp of the allies: a marriage, which brought him children, laid him under a neceſſity of continuing this trade, which he ſtill followed in the war of 1740. When he was above 90, paralytic, ſubſiſting upon a ſmall penſion ſettled upon him by the court, and the aſſiſtance which he received from two of his daughters, who lived in a low way, he once expreſſed himſelf to me thus, "If Lewis the XVth thought proper "to recall to his dove-houſe all the doves whom the "bad policy of Lewis the XIVth baniſhed from it, I "would to-morrow ſet out upon my crutches; and "once more viſit France, my beloved country; my "journey would be the moſt agreeable period of my "life, if I was to die immediately upon my arrival "in Dauphine; even ſo, I ſhould at leaſt have the ſa"tisfaction of being buried there *."

This man computed at 30000 ſouls the number of French Refugees ſettled in London alone, all of whom had a trade, or ſome fund, more or leſs conſiderable, in commerce. He had heard, that one of the

as they are excluded from it; they will praiſe it up to the ſkies as ſoon as they are admitted to a ſhare of it.

* We meet with the ſame ſentiments of affection for France in a letter from Peter of Blois to Eudes biſhop of Paris, xxvi *Annos in Angliâ peregrinans, linguam quam non noveram audivi. Heu mihi quia incolatus meus prolongatus eſt! Et non eſt qui compatitur exuli! ——— Nunc finem imponet peregrinationi meæ, et ſaltem ſemel, ante ſupremi ſpiritus exhalationem, in aëre nativo mihi liceat reſpirare! Præſules Galliarum apud quos factus ſum tanquam alienigena, mortuus à corde, tanquam vas perditum, mihi nimis obdurueruntt. Veniat auſter perflans et ſtrum & liqueſaciat illud, &c.*" Petr. Blois, Epiſt. 160.

principal

principal cauſes that obſtructed their being recalled, was the perplexity which a ſudden exceſs of population might cauſe in the miniſtry, already ſufficiently buſied in the preſent ſtate of affairs: herein he was, no doubt, miſinformed.

The attachment of theſe Refugees to the religion of their fathers, has loſt a great deal of that ardour which was kept up by perſecution. Notwithſtanding the continued efforts of a number of perſons intereſted to ſupport it, the ſpirit of perſecution has equally loſt ground in France; the indulgence ſhewn to the refugees in their own country, would promote what the Engliſh toleration began; the facilty of gaining the miniſters, the pretenſions to places and employments, and the deſire of enjoying the privileges of a citizen, would do the reſt. "I predict to France all the calamities that laid it waſte in the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth centuries, if ever it relaxes any of the ſevere, but juſt and wiſe laws, with reſpect to the Proteſtants," was the ſentiment of the Jeſuits conveyed to the public in 1756, by the abbe de Caverac: that is to ſay, it would have been neceſſary to baniſh all the Pariſians, becauſe under Charles V. they were Maillotins, Armagnacs under Charles VI. Leaguers under Henry IV. and Frondeurs under Louis XIV. This juſt ſeverity, might the apologizer for the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew have ſaid, would have prevented the ills which laid France waſte in thoſe unhappy periods. But an enlightened policy has in thoſe circumſtances the ſame reſources as phyſic; by remedies and patience they get the better of the diſorder, preſerving the patient, and at laſt reſtoring his firſt vigour; to continue the compariſon, the recalling of the Proteſtants would be a miracle like that of the reſurrection. Oriental deſpotiſm could never ſecure its conqueſts otherwiſe than by depriving the ſubdued

provinces of their inhabitants; Roman policy attached them to the empire by the tye of brotherhood, which it eſtabliſhed between them and its own citizens; it awed them by force only at critical junctures; theſe being over, the conquered became friends, fellow-citizens, and brothers of the victor. Such was the iſſue of the ſocial war; a war as alarming by its circumſtances and its objects, as by the miſchiefs which it threatened. Thus has France acted with regard to the Jeſuits: they were dangerous only by their union; ſhe contented herſelf with diſuniting them, and condemning the inſtitution which bound them; ſhe has baniſhed only thoſe, who, preferring an artificial to their native country, may juſtly indulge the complaints which Virgil puts into the mouths of the Greeks, who were thrown upon the coaſts of Italy after the ſiege of Troy*. But let us now return to our French Refugees: happening one day to croſs a pariſh church, I fell in with a crowd of women, one of whom attacked me very briſkly upon the ſeverity of France to the Proteſtants, to which body moſt of thoſe women belonged; after having ſolemnly aſſured her, that I had no ſhare nor influence in the conduct of which ſhe complained, I took occaſion to enquire into the cauſe of that numerous meeting; ſhe anſwered me, with an aukward baſhfulneſs, that the pariſh that day diſtributed the alms of the month; that the charity of the Engliſh was the ſource of that ſucceſs with which God bleſſed all their undertakings; that he would always look with an eye of anger upon a kingdom which had cut of its arms and legs to deliver up the remainder to the Jeſuits; that even

* *Quicunque Iliacos bello violavimus agros,*
Supplicia et faſtis pœnas expendimus omnes,
Vel Priamo miſeranda manus.

Virg. Æneid. l. ii. 255.

French

French people found themſelves under a neceſſity of praying to God againſt France in favour of England: in fine, that every Frenchman, who did not do his utmoſt to open the eyes of Lewis XVth to the political and religious reaſons which ſhould determine him to reſtore the edict of Nantes, partook of the guilt, for which, as ſhe aſſured me, Lewis the XIVth, and all the jeſuits, were burning in hell-fire. Several women, all of whom ſpoke French, joined in the converſation: I could not get out of their clutches till I had aſſured them, that, at my departure from Paris, I heard it poſitively affirmed that a reſolution had been taken in council, to give free leave to all the French Refugees, that thought proper, to return to France: the affairs of Calas had entered into this converſation; thoſe women were acquainted with every circumſtance of it; they looked upon it as an affair of religion; they maintained, that Calas had been ſacrificed through hatred to thoſe of his perſuaſion: they loudly exclaimed, that this cruel farce was played with no other intention but to keep the ſovereign from every view, which might have any tendency to make him recall the Refugees.

QUAKERS.

I ſhall ſay but little of the Quakers, whoſe ſect is ſufficiently known. The Bible, which they explain after a way of their own, is the only book they pay any regard to; and the Holy Ghoſt promiſed to believers by Jeſus Chriſt, is the principal object of their dogma, their devotion, and their confidence. This confidence is ſo great, that they look upon baptiſm as ſuperfluous, excepting when grown perſons are inſpired with the deſire of it by the Holy Ghoſt.

Their meetings bear a great reſemblance to the Engliſh clubs, on account of the ſilence and meditation which prevail at thoſe aſſemblies. They enter without the leaſt ceremony, keep their hats on, and ſeat themſelves without ſaluting or taking the leaſt notice of thoſe preſent; with their hands croſſed upon the heads of their canes, they pray or meditate inwardly, ſwinging their bodies backwards and forwards, after the manner of the German Jews in their ſynagogues. The women take up one ſide of the hall, the bottom of which faces the door, and is occupied by a kind of bench or gallery. I at firſt thought that thoſe I ſaw in this gallery were a ſort of prieſts and rabbies; but I was given to underſtand that they all ſeated themſelves indiſcriminately, and that there are neither prieſts, miniſters, or preſidents, at their aſſemblies.

Every Quaker preaches as ſoon as the ſpirit moves him: the ſpirit moves even the women themſelves, and then they hold forth. Theſe inſpirations are not fixed or regular: during two hours that I paſſed in a Quakers Meeting, at the firſt time of my viſiting them, nobody preached; one old man roſe, looked about the hall, puffed and blowed a good deal, and then ſat down without ſaying a word. The ſecond time I had better luck: he that ſat oppoſite to me, finding the ſpirit move him, on a ſudden roſe, turned towards the aſſembly, and after long blowing his breath on my face, ſpoke for about half an hour; all his expreſſions were interrupted by new puffing and blowing, with his eyes ſhut, and his hands in his ſleeves; he had the air and tone of a man that walks in his ſleep *. After about a quarter of an

* He put me in mind of ſiſter Margaret, whom I had heard preach at Paris in the ſame tone, at an aſſembly of Convulſionaries, in which one abbe Coutu ſat as preſident.

hour's

hour's ſilence, he again reſumed the thread of his diſcourſe; I was informed, at quitting the aſſembly, that his ſubject was the keeping holy the Sabbath-day, and that it was made up of the moſt low and trivial common-place ſtuff.

At another meeting, where were a great number of foreigners of all countries, an old Quaker took for the ſubject of his diſcourſe, 1. The inutility and vanity of all modes of worſhip invented by men to do honour to the Divinity. 2. The excellence of adoration in ſpirit and truth, which Jeſus Chriſt came to bring upon earth.

I heard no women preach: the beauty of moſt of the ſex, ſet off by Engliſh neatneſs, is farther heightened by the ſimplicity of their dreſs; their linen, their robes, their hats, are all plain, without any ſort of ornament: this does not prevent ſuch as are rich (and almoſt all of them are ſo) from wearing the fineſt linen, and being very particular in the choice of their ſtuffs, which are, however, of modeſt colours. The firſt time that I went to one of their meetings, within the precincts of Weſtminſter-abbey, being perplexed with a very puzzling direction that had been given me, I ſhewed it to a woman whom I happened to meet in my way to Charing-croſs; ſhe read it, and by ſigns intimated to me that ſhe was going thither herſelf: I offered her my arm, ſhe accepted it, and we arrived at the meeting, where ſhe took her place, and ſhewed me where I might be ſeated.

I had been told that the Quakers wore no buttons to their coats or their hats; but I ſaw ſeveral of them with that ornament; I obſerved, however, that thoſe whom I heard preach, and who, in all probability, are the leaders of the ſect, in that article obſerved all the rigour of the primitive inſtitution: the privation

of that ornament is, doubtleſs, a point of ſtrict duty.

They retain all the averſion with which they were inſpired by the firſt founders of the ſect, from the effuſion of human blood. In conſequence of this antipathy to bloodſhed, they for a long time refuſed to contribute in Pennſylvania to the levies of men and money in the laſt war, for the defence of that colony: they have even obtained an exemption from the national militia eſtabliſhed in England. It was, notwithſtanding, a Briton of that ſect*, who formed, in 1758, the project of reducing the French ſettlements in Senegal; it is true the expedition, directed by the Quaker, was executed, according to his plan, without any effuſion of blood.

With regard to probity, and all the ſocial virtues upon which their religion is founded, the Quakers have always kept up to their firſt reputation. Their number is, notwithſtanding, every day upon the decreaſe: many cauſes contribute to this, 1. Their children forſake a religion which incapacitates them for all places and public employments. 2. The ſame reaſon prevents them from making proſelytes. 3. The toleration ſhewn them, prevents them from having that obſtinacy, which, amongſt ſectaries, is the the uſual effect of perſecution. 4. In fine, of all the religions invented by men, Quakeriſm is the only one which has, both in theory and practice, excluded the ſpirit of domineering. If that ſect ſtill continues to ſubſiſt, it muſt be, (as may be concluded from the pleaſantry which is to terminate this article) for the reaſon on which Pope Sixtus the Vth founded his prediction of the impending ruin of a

* Mr. Thomas Cumming. T.

ſect

ſect, that had taken for its baſis the moſt rigorous continence *.

The Quakers have neither pictures nor images at their meetings. They, however, have in their houſes, certain prints, relative to the objects of their devotion. Happening to be ſtopt in a remote part of London by a heavy ſhower, I entered the firſt porch I ſaw, where a man, opening a door, invited me to enter his chamber: this perſon was a Quaker; the chamber was adorned with a large print, which appeared to be lately engraved, and diſcovered great elegance: it repreſented a large oak; in the midſt of its leaves was ſeen the Holy Ghoſt in the form of a dove, devils ſawed the tree at the root, all the north-winds let looſe at once beat upon its ſummit, and ſavage beaſts ſeemed to wait the fall of the tree, in order to devour the dove. The owner told me, that this allegory repreſented the ſtate of the ſoul in this life.

If this ſect does not fall of itſelf, and periſh by an imperceptible decay, ſooner or later ſome hypocrite, availing himſelf of the general prepoſſeſſion in favour of the Quakers, will, by ſome flagrant act of diſhoneſty, make that ſect forfeit its only claim to the public eſteem.

The Quakers have hitherto had but one man of learning † amongſt them; this was a ſchool-maſter, who having, by his own induſtry, made himſelf maſter of the Oriental languages, has lately publiſhed a tranſlation of the Bible from the original Hebrew, with a commentary, which abounds with obſervations curious and new: I heard this judgement paſſed upon it by divines of the church of England, who were

* *Non ſi chiava in queſta religione*, ſaid the pope, *non durerá*. Confeſſion of Sancy. l. 2. c. v.

† M. Groſley has doubtleſs forgot Robert Barclay; the perſon he means here is Mr. Purver. T.

very

very capable of forming a right eſtimate of its merit.

This ſect, at its origin, had learned votaries, for I think I can diſcover its origin in thoſe Prophetantes, who, "about the middle of the laſt century repaired from all parts of Holland, and aſſembled on the firſt Sunday of every month at Warmont, in the neighbourhood of Leyden, where they paſſed that whole day in reading the ſcripture, propoſing their difficulties, and uſing the liberty of prophefying, that is to ſay, the exerciſe of reaſon, as far as it is allowed by the goſpel." But they are, adds Sorbiere, a ſociety of very worthy perſons, moſt of whom underſtand both the Greek and Hebrew. They differ from the Remonſtrants only in obſerving a more ſtrict diſcipline with regard to war, which they totally proſcribe and condemn *. Sorbiere had viſited Holland in 1642.

The Quakers are the ſubject of frequent raillery, both in converſation and writing; this makes but little impreſſion upon them. When I was leaving London, a piece of humour, levelled at their ſect, and juſt then publiſhed, was put into my hand: it was a printed ſheet, adorned with a wooden cut, repreſenting their meeting-houſe at Weſtminſter; and contained a ſermon, ſaid to be preached by a Quaker, upon an indecent adventure, which the writer ſuppoſes to have happened to one of the moſt zealous of the brethren. This ſermon I looked upon as a ſpecimen of Engliſh humour, and a proof of the charity of the Engliſh to thoſe of every perſuaſion differing from their own.

* Sorberiana.

MORAVIANS*.

I was indebted to chance for a diſcovery of the Moravians, and the place where they hold their aſſemblies; a place fitted up by the count of Zinzendorf, founder of that ſect. I often took an airing to Chelſea, a delighful place, greatly frequented in the ſummer on account of its ſituation on the Thames, and a conſiderable number of handſome buildings. As I was walking one day through this village, I was joined by a man who had the appearance of a creditable tradeſman; he aſked me in French where I was going, offered me his ſervices, and accompanied me to ſir Richard Glyn's garden. In our way thither, he enquired of me about ſeveral Pariſians; I knew many of them, and had it in my power to ſatisfy his curioſity. During the courſe of this converſation, we paſſed by a houſe which made a very elegant appearance: my conductor aſked me, whether I knew this houſe, and if I had a fancy to ſee the inſide of it? I anſwered him in the affirmative. I live here, ſaid he; and you ſhall ſee it when we come back: accordingly, at our return, he rung the bell, when a ſervant opened the door to him with the utmoſt reſpect, and he introduced me into a handſome hall, which led to a very large ſtair-caſe; the wainſcot of that ſtair-caſe was covered with paintings, the oddity of which engaged my attention. Here ſtood a Negro, dreſſed in a white ſhirt, which fell down to his feet; there was repreſented a ſtorm, with a ſhipwreck, and a man ſaving himſelf upon a rock, expecting relief from a diſtant boat; in another piece was the figure of a man preaching to poor ſlaves in Africa, who were infected with the plague. After I

* See Remarks on this Article in the Appendix to Vol. II. T.

had

had gazed ſome time at theſe pictures, we arrived at the apartment of the firſt ſtory, conſiſting of a ſweep of ſeven chambers, all wainſcoted, lighted with large windows, and neatly furniſhed. I had been informed that this houſe had been built and furniſhed by the count Zinzendorf, of pious memory, to ſerve as a meeting-houſe to the Moravian brethren, a ſociety founded by that nobleman: he ſhewed me the apartment which had been occupied by the religious founder, this was on the third floor; over the chimney of one of the rooms on the firſt floor was the picture of an ancient duke of Saxony, from whom count Zinzendorff's lady was ſaid to be deſcended.

On the third floor I found one half of it occupied by a large chamber, which had a harpſichord with ſome benches and ſtools, and a table covered with a red cloth; over this table a piece of the ſame ſort of cloth, which hung from the cieling, formed a kind of canopy; all the pannels of the wainſcot were covered with names painted in red letters, "Theſe, ſaid the perſon who introduced me, are the names of the children of God moſt known ſince the creation of the world." The firſt of theſe names were in gold, embrowned, and, as it were, ſmoked, a diſtinction relative, no doubt, to the way of thinking of the Moravians with regard to the Old Teſtament: the next pannels preſented to my view the names of the moſt eminent perſons of the Greek and Latin churches; St. Bernard, Peter de Blois, and John of Saliſbury, make a figure amongſt thoſe of the middle age; amongſt the moderns I read thoſe of Madamoiſelle Schuman, Madame de Chantal, M. de Fenelon, Madame Dannican, wife to the attorney general of the parliament of Rennes in Bretagne, laſtly, that of cardinal de Noailles, for whom M. de Zinzendorf had a great eſteem,

eſteem, ſo as to take the liberty of writing to him, in 1720, concerning his change of ſtyle in the affair of the conſtitution: no Jeſuit makes a figure amongſt *theſe children of God.*

The extremity of this apartment preſents to the view two doors, over one of which is written, *Alleluia*, and over the other, *Miſerere mei, Deus*; this, as I was told, compriſed the ſentiments of the Chriſtian in every act of life, which ſhould at once be an object of fear and thankſgiving.

We paſſed from thence upon a terras, which was the whole length of the houſe; the lead with which it was covered coſt 1200 guineas, for the materials and the workmanſhip; from thence we had one of the moſt beautiful, moſt varied, and moſt extenſive proſpects in England. At the back of this houſe is a church-yard and a pretty large chapel.

This building ſeems to be a houſe of probation, or place of retreat. The Moravians have a meeting-houſe in London, near Fetter-lane, where I aſſiſted at their ſervice; it is intermixed with canticles, the muſic of which is very agreeable; both the canticles and the pſalmody are accompanied by the organ, after the German manner. M. de Zinzendorf juſtly thought that he might thus enliven an exerciſe which he conſidered as a fore-taſte of that eternal employment of the children of God. In the middle of the ſervice a preacher aſcended the pulpit: of all the men I had ever heard ſpeak in public in London, either in the pulpit or in the two houſes of parliament, this Moravian miniſter is the only perſon that appeared to me to have the tone, the geſtures, and the action of an orator; I was aſſured that the excellence of the diſcourſe was anſwerable to that of the manner in which it was delivered.

I ſhall now lay before the reader the beſt account I could get concerning the tenets and rites of this ſect.

They conſider the Old Teſtament only as a pious, edifying, and allegorical hiſtory; in a word, as a ſhade which gives a new luſtre to the brilliant day of the goſpel.

The religion of the church of England, and that of all the Chriſtian communions which acknowledge the goſpel, are equal in their eyes: God, ſay they, has in all theſe communions children whom he knows; to love God and to love their brethren, is the characteriſtic of the children of God, a characteriſtic independent of all theological ſyſtems.

They look upon baptiſm as an article eſſentially neceſſary. With regard to the holy ſacrament, I could not diſcover that they think like Catholics, Lutherans, or Calviniſts. They aſſemble to communicate: the Euchariſt is diſtributed to all preſent; at a certain ſignal they all communicate at the ſame inſtant, and then, as I have been told, they are to ſuch a degree inflamed, ſo abſorbed and wrapt in the Deity, that, full of the effect of this ineffable myſtery, they never think of examining in what manner it operates.

Theſe raptures, this communication with God, &c. made an article of the religion invented by the latter Platonic philoſophers: "I have been ſo happy," ſaid Porphyry, one of that ſect, in the life of Plato, "as to approach the Deity, and unite myſelf to him." "This union, adds he, was the ſole object of the deſire of Plato; he four times had the happineſs of this enjoyment whilſt I lived with him; what paſſes at that time within us is ineffable."

The chief object of the external worſhip of theſe enthuſiaſts is the wound which our Saviour received

in his ſide upon the croſs: the figure of this wound contributes, in ſome meaſure, to the ſcandalous imputations laid to their charge, of which I ſhall hereafter give the reader an account. This object of worſhip ſeems, at the ſame time, to bear a ſtrong reſemblance and even to be confounded with the *devotion to the ſacred heart*, invented in France by Mary Alacoque, countenanced by the Jeſuits, celebrated by the biſhops who were moſt devoted to that cauſe, conſecrated by the famous life of its inſtitutreſs, an account of which monſieur Languet has given the public, and finally eſtabliſhed as a party diſtinction by the uncommunicating clergy.

Marriage, amongſt the Moravians, is a ſacrament, as I have been told, almoſt as ineffable as the Euchariſt; they never contract it without adviſing with the principal perſonages of their ſect: without this advice, the inclination of the contracting parties is looked upon as a ſnare of Satan. Now one would preſume, that it is determined only by the moſt compleat knowledge of the character of the parties, and that the ſame integrity and purity of intention have place on this occaſion, as are uſed by fathers of families in affairs of this nature. The views of young Moravians called to the marriage-ſtate are not leſs pure; they look upon conjugal duty as the moſt important function of rational creatures, either in the order of nature, or in that of religion. Who would not be of the ſame way of thinking, ſaid my conductor, with the air of a man moſt deeply affected, if he reflects that he is upon the point of giving exiſtence to a man, who will either be an honour and conſolation, or the diſgrace and ſhame of his family, of ſociety, and of religion? With regard to myſelf, ſaid he, I received a wife from the hands of count Zinzendorf

as I would have taken one from God himſelf: I knew nothing of her perſon, her fortune, her family, or the country where ſhe was born, and in which ſhe lived: God has given his benediction to our union; and in this ſtate I have already found, and find every day, an anticipated paradiſe.

The Moravians are ſaid to live in common, like the firſt faithful of Jeruſalem. They bring into a general heap all they earn, and take out of it only what is abſolutely neceſſary for their private uſe. They are very good artificers: they work, they ſave money, in order to have the pleaſure of making charitable donations by the hands of the chief directors; and their benevolence is not confined to their own ſect. Such of them as are opulent or in eaſy circumſtances, and above the claſs of working people, bring into the common collection, not the whole of their ſubſtance, but very conſiderable alms.

Miſſions are the greateſt object of the common expence: thoſe to Africa furniſhed the ſubject of ſome of the pictures which I had ſeen upon the ſtair-caſe. Count Zinzendorf conſidered miſſions as the moſt important articles of his apoſtleſhip; he had made two voyages to America. To mix ſomething miraculous with thoſe expeditions, I have been informed, that in a converſation with the earl of Cheſterfield, he aſſured that nobleman, upon his honour, and by his Maker, that he had made the paſſage from Plymouth Boſton in ſeven days. Their African miſſions are likewiſe ſaid to be accompanied by miracles.

The community of goods eſtabliſhed amongſt the Moravians, and the extraordinary principles which they have adopted with regard to marriage, have occaſioned people to charge them with practiſing in their aſſemblies the *vagus concubitus*, of which certain grave authors

authors have accuſed moſt of the heretics, ancient as well as modern *: the primitive Chriſtians were themſelves ſuſpected of it by the Pagans †; but the impu-

* The heretics of the twelfth century, known by the appellations of Patarins, Vaudois, Albigeois, &c. were generally accuſed of this infamous practice, though all their external conduct diſcovered the moſt zealous attachment to purity. I find, in this reſpect, a very remarkable fact mentioned by father Picart, in his notes upon the twelfth chapter of William of Newbury's hiſtory, taken from the manuſcript of Raoul, monk of Clogher in Ireland. I ſhall here cite the paſſage, by way of extract, in the very words of the Iriſh monk.

Cum dominus Gulielmus (William of Champagne) *Remorum urbis archiepiſcopus, cum clericis ſuis, ſpatiandi gratiâ, obequitaret, quidam ex dictis clericis, ſcilicet magiſter Tilleberienſis, videns quandam puellam in vineis ſolam deambulantem, lubricæ juventutis curioſitate ductus divertit ad eam; ſicut ab ore ejus didicimus poſtea, cum canonicus eſſet. Quam ſalutans, et unde et cujus eſſet filia, et quidnam ibi ſola faceret, diligenter inquirens, cum ejus pulchritudinem diutius attendiſſet, hanc tandem de amore laſcivo curialiter affatur. Cui illa ſimplici et quâdam verborum gravitate reſpondit, vix juvenem reſpicere volens: Numquam velit Deus, ô bone adoleſcens, ut tua amica ſive alicujus hominis exiſtam; quia ſi virginitatem amiſiſſem, et caro mea ſemel corrupta eſſet, æternùm damnationi proculdubio ſubjacerem. Quod audiens Magnus Gervaſius, intellexit ſubitò hanc eſſe de impuriſſimâ illâ ſectâ publicanorum (ſic dicti a populando) qui tum ubique exquirebantur et perimebantur.—Dum itaque dictus clericus cùm puellâ de tali reſponſo confutando altercaretur, ſupervenit archiepiſcopus cum ſuis, qui controverſiæ cauſam agnoſcens, juſſit puellam comprehendi et ſecum in urbem adduci. Quam coram clericis alloquens et plures auctoritates ac rationum argumenta proponens, reſpondit illa, ſe nequaquam ſatis fuiſſe inſtructam ut tantas objectiones poſſet refellere, ſed habere ſe quandam magiſtram in urbe, quæ facile omnes objectiones refelleret. Illâ etiam comprehenſâ—cum utrarumque mentes obſtinatæ, nec minis nec blanditiis nec allegationibus nec ſcripturarum auctoritate, ab erroribus revocari poſſent—communi conſilio decretum eſt ut flammis concremarentur; et jam igne accenſo, cum jam ad pœnam trahi deberent, ait erroris magiſtra: Inſenſati et judices injuſti! creditiſne quòd me veſtro igne eremabitis?—Et hæc dicens concitè glomum fili extrahit, et extra quandam magnam feneſtram projecit, capite fili in manibus retento, & voce ſonorâ dixit:* Recipe. *Ad quod verbum mox a terris elevata, glomum agili volatu, cunctis aſpicientibus, extra feneſtram ſubſecuta eſt.—Puella autem cum remanſiſſet—igne conſumpta eſt, non ſine admiratione multorum, cum nulla ſuſpiria, nullos fletus, nullum planctum emitteret, ſed omne flagrantis incendii tormentum conſtanter et alacriter perferret—Sic iſti virginitatem prædicant, in operimentum ſuæ turpitudinis, &c. &c.* This paſſage requires no commentary.

† The Jews fell under the ſame ſuſpicion. *Projectiſſimi ad libidinem gens, alienarum concubitu abſtinent; inter ſe nihil illicitum.* Tacit. l. v. initio.

tations of jealouſy, hatred, and above all the hatred of divines, never amounted to a proof; beſides, is it natural that a man, however corrupt he may be ſuppoſed, ſhould give himſelf up to licentiouſneſs and debauchery through a principle of religion?

Univerſal benevolence to all mankind is one of the firſt principles of the Moravian brethren. Hence it is that, my conductor talked to me concerning the affair of the unfortunate Calas with the tendereſt emotion imaginable: he afterwards ſpoke in the ſame ſtrain concerning the baniſhment of the Jeſuits from France; "they are men, ſaid he, they ſuffer, we pray to God to relieve, and to preſerve them from all unjuſt oppreſſion."

After having ſhewn me the whole houſe, he led me into an apartment remarkable for its elegant ſimplicity; the farther room was occupied by a tall woman of an engaging mien, who, as ſoon as ever ſhe ſaw me, roſe and ſaluted me in French. "Here, ſaid my conductor, is the angel given to me by count Zinzendorf. She ſeemed to be of the ſame age with her huſband, and was born at Neufchatel in Switzerland. With the air and the deportment of a perſon of ſolidity, ſhe aſked me about the news at Paris, and anſwered all the queſtions I propoſed to her concerning the Moravians. During our converſation, her huſband got us ſome wine; we drank to each other's good health, and to all our friends; and I promiſed to pay them another viſit before I left London. As I was going away, a coach ſtopped at the door, and there alighted from it a lady as reſpectable for her age as her deportment: it was the counteſs of H—, one of the firſt women of quality in England; ſhe came to edify in the company of the huſband and wife, whom I was juſt leaving.

It

It is unneceſſary to inform the reader that theſe diſciples place count Zinzendorf in the firſt claſs of the children of God. I have ſeen the portrait of this apoſtle: he is repreſented with a great leather cap, which covers his ears; and his countenance has a mixture of zeal and authority, becoming the founder of a ſect.

The Engliſh in general have but little eſteem for the Moravians; they look upon them as dupes to their chiefs, who abuſe religion to acquire over them that empire, as abſolute as lucrative, which the Jeſuits found means to eſtabliſh over the Americans of Paraguay.

Their ſect alſo took the name of Herrenhutters, from the little town of Herrenhut, in Upper Luſatia, all the inhabitants of which were won over to that perſuaſion by count Zinzendorf. In this manner Plato ſaw his republic realized in a town, the police of which he regulated, according to his own principles; but human paſſions, which it had been his aim to deſtroy, ſoon reſumed their firſt aſcendant. They will, doubtleſs, do the ſame in the town of Herrenhut. The church of Jeruſalem, though directed by the apoſtles, and harraſſed by perſecutions, ſoon relaxed the rigid principles upon which it had been founded by St. Peter.

The Moravians have ſome conſiderable eſtabliſhments in Holland. The young girls who are brought together by theſe inſtitutions, though they work in common under the inſpection of their ſuperiors and the public, occaſion much talk. One of theſe houſes had for its chief a French adventurer, named James le Long, whoſe knaveries, for which he was expelled the Moravian church, did not in the leaſt contribute to raiſe its reputation.

It has ſome odd principles, which can be only ſurmiſed from the perplexed and enigmatical manner in which the adepts of the ſect explain themſelves. They, doubtleſs, make a myſtery of them to the bulk of their communion; many forſake them, either of their own accord, or becauſe they are diſmiſſed the very moment that they prove wanting to the firſt virtue of the Moravians, which their chiefs maintain to conſiſt in an implicit ſubmiſſion to their orders, their advice, and even their leaſt ſigns.

METHODISTS.

The ſame ſpirit prevails in the ſect of the Methodiſts: its origin is recent, and its founder, Mr. Whitfield, is very lately dead. This eſtabliſhment has borne all the perſecutions that it could poſſibly apprehend in a country as much diſpoſed to perſecution as England is the reverſe. It was not indeed firſt formed in a covert way, or in obſcurity: Mr. Whitfield had choſen ſome public ſituations in and about London for the ſcene of his preaching; the aim of which was, the reformation of manners and the reſtoration of the dogma of grace, enervated and disfigured by Arminianiſm, which has impereeptibly crept into the church of England. The miniſters of the eſtabliſhed religion did their utmoſt to baffle the new preacher: they preached againſt him, repreſented him to the people as a fanatic, a viſionary, &c. &c. in fine, they oppoſed him with ſo much ſucceſs, that they cauſed him to be pelted with ſtones in every place where he opened his mouth to the public. He perſevered notwithſtanding, and made proſelytes; the number of theſe, and the conſtancy of their chief, dazzled the eyes of the populace; the indignation which they had been inſpired with,

gave way to curioſity; and Mr. Whitfield at laſt ſucceeded ſo far as to preach undiſturbed in Moorfields, a large open place near the city, the extent of which was ſcarcely more than ſufficient to hold the prodigious concourſe of auditors who crowded to his ſermons.

Having aſſociated to himſelf aſſiſtants, he formed a church, where we find all the fervor of devotion which generally characteriſes new ſects. The members of this church have cauſed a place of worſhip to be erected, by the name of the tabernacle, in the neighbourhood of Moorfields, where the ſociety took birth*; and another, of late years, in Tottenham-court-road.

Its liturgy is that of the church of England, interlarded with certain hymns, compoſed to airs agreeable enough, by Mr. Whitfield, poet to the new church: by means of theſe hymns, the ſervice is of a length proportioned to the fervor of the congregation.

The Methodiſt church conſiſts almoſt wholly of tradeſmen, and people of the lower ſort: nothing can be more edifying than their behaviour, their ſinging, and their attention to the ſermon. This attention is kept up, and, as it were, warmed by the frequent ſighs which iſſue every moment from the ſeveral parts of the tabernacle, and which echo to each other.

At one of theſe ſervices chance placed me next to the young man who, in my firſt rambling through London, was ſo kind as do me the office of guide the

* This ſituation is in one of the pleaſanteſt parts of London. The Methodiſts prefer to lodge in the new houſes built near their tabernacle. Thus while the French fanatics, called the Convulſioners, think and talk of nothing elſe but the approaching ruin of Paris, the Methodiſts act more ſenſibly, by contributing to the increaſe and improvement of London.

whole length of Oxford-road: he continued to behave to me with the ſame politeneſs, and procured me a book of hymns; he appeared to be one of the moſt devout in the whole aſſembly. If this politeneſs has its ſource in the doctrines of the new church, the nation muſt be the better for its ſpreading.

The preacher, who had a clergyman's gown on, with black gloves, and a white handkerchief, preached with continued ſighs and groans, and all the air and tone of a fanatic. His diſcourſe was interrupted by exclamations oh! oh! which were repeated every inſtant. I thought it was Mr. Whitfield himſelf; but I was given to underſtand that he was then in America, labouring in the vineyard of the Lord, and that the preacher whom I then heard was one of his firſt American proſelytes: this was Mr. Whitfield's third voyage.

Hell is the favourite topic of the Methodiſt preachers, who, as we are told, contribute thereby to people Bedlam. They likewiſe inſiſt greatly upon the ſpirit and faith, which, according to them, is alone ſufficient to juſtification and eternal ſalvation.

To the tabernacle, as I have already obſerved, is joined a church-yard, in which the dead have epitaphs in the ancient taſte, that is to ſay, of the greateſt ſimplicity imaginable. Some principal perſons of the ſect are buried in the tabernacle itſelf, with epitaphs, which contain elogiums more extenſive.

While ſervice is performing, many of the women ſit promiſcuouſly among the men, juſt as they do at the pariſh churches. The leading miniſters of this ſect are ſaid to be very opulent. The Methodiſts, as well as Moravians, depoſit in the hands of their chiefs a part of their daily gains, reſerving to themſelves only

only what is abſolutely neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence; and the fund ariſing from theſe ſums thus depoſited by the community, ſupplies alms for the poor, money to build churches, to pay the ſalaries of their clergy, and to defray the expence of miſſions. Such was the primitive deſtination of tythes and of all ſorts of eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſions, adminiſtered at their firſt origin by perſons, who, entertaining too good an opinion of human nature, have led their ſucceſſors into a temptation to which they muſt inevitably yield.

This method of living in common was the firſt law which the primitive faithful of Jeruſalem enjoined themſelves; but whether it was owing to the details of œconomy being below ſouls ſo ſublime as thoſe of the apoſtles, or to ſome more Judas's having got among the directors appointed to ſuperintend the new adminiſtration, the church of Jeruſalem, was ſoon reduced to depend upon the charity of thoſe churches which had not adopted the cuſtom of having all things in common *.

Upon a view of the ſects eſtabliſhed in England, Sorbiere ſaid, in 1663, "Why ſhould we French be ſurprized at the infatuation which firſt formed and ſtill keeps them up? we have a long time wrangled and diſputed upon nothing; namely, whether five propoſitions are to be found in a book or not? and this diſpute ſufficiently evinces that we are not ourſelves free from extravagance, ambition, and obſtinacy †."

* Acts Apoſt. c. iv. vi. xii. &c.
† Voyage to England, p. 60.

FREETHINKERS.

Catholics, Church of England men, Puritans, Moravians, Methodiſts, &c. all make one common cauſe againſt a ſect which every day gains ground; I mean Freethinking, whoſe ſource has been thus traced by the great Boſſuet. "The minds of men, thrown into a violent agitation, and falling from one precipice to another, have ſplit into a multiplicity of ſects, in the midſt of which many perſons, wearied out with ſuch a multitude of abſurd chimeras, and no longer able to diſcover any majeſty in a religion thus torn to pieces, ſeek for reſt in a perfect indifference to all perſuaſions."

Atheiſm was a word of a vague and indeterminate ſignification, before the Sorbonne had claſſed the Atheiſts, Theiſts, Deiſts, &c.* As for downright Atheiſts, if ever there were any ſuch, we ſhould look for them among the Mahomets, the Hildebrands, the Guiſes, the Cromwells, and amongſt thoſe men of all ages and countries, who, making a jeſt of God, and of the notion of the Deity imprinted upon the hearts of men, have abuſed it, in order to raiſe their fortune, and to lay the foundation of a greatneſs generally cemented with the blood of their fellow-creatures.

The ſacred names of God, religion, conſcience, church, and public good, occaſioned all the ſucceſs of the moſt atrocious attempts of thoſe men of blood. In the very moment that ſentence of death was going to be pronounced againſt Charles the Firſt, when the commiſſioners refuſed to hear him: he told them, "that he wiſhed they had God before their

* Theſe two laſt claſſes, are confounded in England with the Socinians, and known by the common name of Free-thinkers.

eyes."

eyes." "Yes, ſir," anſwered Bradſhaw, preſident of the high commiſſion, and Cromwell's chief tool, "yes, ſir, we have before our eyes God, the King of kings, and Lord of lords; God who excepts no man's perſon, God the avenger of innocent blood, God who pours down his curſes upon thoſe who ſpare the blood of criminals, which he has condemned; yes, ſir, God and our conſciences call us to this place, and to this auguſt function; and it remains only for us to wiſh, as we do with all our hearts, that God would give you perfect contrition and repentance of your ſins, and that he would be pleaſed to ſhew his mercy at leaſt to the beſt part of you; for with regard to the other part, ſir, we find ourſelves under a neceſſity of doing as the law directs *."

Theſe commiſſioners paſſed the Sunday after their firſt ſitting, in faſting and prayer, and hearing a ſermon in the chapel of Whitehall, from nine o'clock in the morning, till four in the afternoon; and they ſpent in the ſame devout exerciſes the whole Sunday which preceded the pronouncing of judgement.

I have already mentioned the ſermon preached by Cromwell himſelf, upon the text of St. Paul: *Omnis anima poteſtatibus ſublimioribus ſubjecta ſit.*

The Freethinkers have given a new extent to the ſpirit of toleration, to which the political atheiſt is a declared enemy. This ſpirit, which was the chief foundation of the grandeur of the Romans, is at preſent the ſource of that of Holland and England. From theſe two countries aroſe its firſt apoſtles †. To this ſpirit the Roman Catholics are in-

* Summary of the trial of Charles the Firſt, printed at Paris in 1650, in quarto, p. 38, 44, and 77.

† Herbert, baron of Cherbury, was one of theſe firſt apoſtles. See his works, intituled, *De veritate & de cauſis errorum.*

debted

debted for the peace and quietneſs which they enjoy under both theſe governments. In the main, every Roman Catholic, whether Engliſh or Dutch, looking upon all his countrymen who are out of the pale of the church, as damned, ſhould wiſh them rather to damn themſelves as Freethinkers without joining any perſecuting ſect, than as untolerating ſectaries. In fine, free-thinking is, in a free ſtate, an aſylum open to thoſe who, in other countries, are obliged to have recourſe to the maſk of hypocriſy: now this free-thinking has, perhaps, conſequences leſs dangerous than hypocriſy, with regard to public morals.

Thoſe who in England are ſupported by the wealth of the church, not having it decently in their power to be deiſts in an abſolute ſenſe, are ſo in certain reſpects. Socinus, as I have already obſerved, has a great many followers, both amongſt the clergy of the church of England and the Puritans. Cardinal du Perron uſed to ſay, "In England they were very much embarraſſed to convince an Arrian of his errors by paſſages out of ſcripture: he put them all to a nonplus, and they could not ſucceed in converting him; ſo they ordered him to be burned alive. We cannot, added the cardinal, confute an Arian by ſcripture: that is to be done only by the authority of the church. Calviniſm, ſaid the ſame cardinal, will at laſt degenerate into Mahometaniſm. From Luther came Calvin, and from Calvin the new Arians, who endeavour to reconcile Chriſtianity with Mahometiſm; and it is much to be feared, that one day the northern countries of Poland, Sweden, Denmark, &c. will renounce the Chriſtian religion *."

* Peronniana, at the words Arius and Socinus.

Cardinal

Cardinal du Perron went beyond the mark, if he underſtood any thing elſe by Mahometaniſm, beſides a religion in which Chriſt ſhould be looked upon only in the ſame light as Mahomet is at preſent by the Muſulmen. He likewiſe forgot or neglected to reckon Arminianiſm amongſt the ſteps which have led to Socinianiſm: Arminius, reducing the neceſſity of a mediator by weakening original ſin, has opened to the Proteſtants the road traced out by Molina to Harduin, to Berruyer, &c.

The Socinians, the Deiſts, &c. enjoy every ſort of liberty in London, that of the preſs not excepted. The caſe was very different at the beginning of the laſt century: James I. forbid, under the ſevereſt penalties, the bringing over Vanini's works to England; and the clergy, entering into the views of the ſovereign, compoſed a prayer of the liturgy, which ſtill makes a part of it; they pray to God to preſerve England from the infection of irreligion.

JEWS.

The Jews conſider the Deiſts and Socinians only as men who make an approach to the kingdom of heaven, by drawing forwards to the excluſive adoration of the God of Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob. This was a ſpeech which I heard from a Jew, whom I happened to ſit near at the ſynagogue, which that opulent nation has in the caſtern part of London.

The Jews who aſſemble here are Portugueze and Spaniards: they behave with all the pride of Spaniards to the German Jews, whom they look upon as vile remains of the tribe of Benjamin. With regard to themſelves, they affirm that they are deſcended from the tribes which Nebuchadnezzar had

planted to the banks of the Euphrates: the Arabian califs, becoming maſters of Aſia, extended their conqueſt by degrees to Spain, where ſeveral Jewiſh families came to eſtabliſh houſes of commerce, and where they have multiplied to ſuch a degree, that, if we may believe them, all the families, both in Spain and Portugal, moſt diſtinguiſhed for noble birth or opulence, are of Jewiſh extraction *.

Theſe Jewiſh families, ſince the eſtabliſhment of the inquiſition, found means to compromiſe matters with it. For money and and external conformity to the Chriſtian religion, the inquiſitors winked at them; they vented their rage only againſt thoſe fanatics who were obſtinately bent upon getting themſelves burnt. Tired of ſuch a ſtate of conſtraint, diſguſted with the contempt which accompanied it, and allured by the tolerating ſpirit of the Engliſh, the Spaniſh and Portugeze Jews croſſed the ſeas in great numbers, with immenſe wealth. A deſcendant of Jacob aſſured me, that the number of thoſe who had taken this courſe, from the year 1720 to 1740, might be computed at twenty thouſand.

The great conſideration in which they are held, has emboldened them to claim naturalization in a body: they obtained it in 1752; but the year following the bill was repealed. The two laſt parliaments were entirely taken up with this affair. The matter had been in agitation ever ſince the year 1715, in which Toland publiſhed a work, intituled, Reaſons

* The Spaniards and Portugueze warmly defend themſelves from this imputation: they rather chuſe, contrary to all probability, to repreſent themſelves as deſcended from Viſigoth or Arian ſoldiers, than acknowledge the third or fourth of their forefathers, by whom they are connected with that race, which is doubtleſs the moſt ancient, and of conſequence the nobleſt in the world.

for

for naturalizing the Jews in Great Britain and Ireland. The author had promiſed to annex to it a tranſlation of a treatiſe written in Italian in the laſt century, by a learned Rabbi, named Simon Luzzarato, which was preſented to the ſenate of Venice, in order to render them favourable to the Jews: a treatiſe filled with anecdotes and particulars, as curious as intereſting, concerning the ſtate of the Jewiſh nation.

Aſtoniſhed at not finding at the Engliſh ſynagogue neither thoſe periodical agitations with which the German Jews accompany their prayers, nor the handkerchiefs with which they muffle themſelves up whilſt at their devotions, nor the cries of the rabbies, which the congregation anſwers by loud noiſes that have cauſed the name of Sabbath to be given to the aſſemblies of ſorcerers: I expreſſed my ſurprize to the Jew who had undertaken to be my inſtructor. He ſaid to me, "Light increaſes amongſt us imperceptibly: we no longer confound Moſes with Ezechias and Eſdras; we owe to God adoration, gratitude, and confidence, and love we owe to our neighbour; the time will come in which all nations ſhall join in theſe ſentiments." "Why then do you continue to make a ſeparate body? ſaid I. Why do you not embrace the eſtabliſhed religion?" "It is unneceſſary for us, anſwered he, to go to thoſe who are advancing apace towards us, and who will ſoon come up to us; beſides, in ſuch a change, every individual expoſes himſelf to the contempt both of thoſe who profeſs the religion which he forſakes, and of the followers of that which he embraces." I then aſked him, what was their way of thinking with regard to the Meſſiah, whether they ſtill waited for his coming? and whether upon his his arrival at Jeruſalem, all the Jews whom I then ſaw would quit England, their houſes,

houſes, their commerce, their wives and their children, to go over to Syria, and join him." "They will wait till the report of his coming is confirmed; till then people of ſenſe will let thoſe who have nothing to loſe, run after him as faſt as they think proper."

The famous Huetius, upon his return from Sweden, met at Amſterdam with a good ſort of a Jew, Rabbi Manaſſe-Ben-Iſrael, of the family of the Abarbanels, who was deſcended, or pretended to be deſcended, in a right line from king David *.

The pſalmody of the Engliſh ſynagogue ſurprized me, by the ſweetneſs as well as the agreeable ſimplicity of its modulation. My aſtoniſhment was cauſed by a compariſon of this ſymphony with the vociferation of the German ſynagogues, and even with the church muſic which I had heard in England. "Our ſymphony, ſaid my Jewiſh friend, is that which our anceſtors carried to Babylon, that is to ſay, that which was uſed in Jeruſalem during the moſt brilliant period of our nation. You know, added he, how little thoſe happy climates are ſubject to the variations of modes. If our muſic has undergone ſome change, and received improvement, it was in thoſe brilliant ages when ſciences and arts, ſeated upon the throne of the Califs, enlightened an empire in which our nation was reſpected for its wealth, and ſupported by the labours of a number of eminent writers. Our anceſtors introduced this ſymphony into Spain; they retained it as ſomething ſacred, and it is the ſame which you now hear."

* *Mihi profecto videbatur acutè quidem reſpondere, ſed candidè, nec longe abeſſe a veritatis notitiâ: ſi quidem moderatè cum eo, et ratione actum eſſet; non, ut fieri ſolet cum hac gente, contumelioſè & præfractè.* Huet comm. de rebus ſuis, l. iii. p. 133.

Theſe

Theſe Portugueze and Spaniſh Jews, whilſt they retain the moſt noted names belonging to thoſe two kingdoms, as Pinto, Acoſta, &c. &c. have likewiſe preſerved for Spain, their ancient country, all the ſentiments of affection which men of worth have for the places of their nativity, where they ſtill have their families and relations; differing in this reſpect at leaſt with regard to their manner of talking in public from the French refugees.

The Jews, whilſt they continue attached to England, flatter themſelves, no doubt, that they will never ſee thoſe bloody ſcenes renewed of which their nation was the object, and England the theatre, in the reign of Richard I. ſcenes of which we find a circumſtantial deſcription in the writings of Matthew Paris and William of Newbury. The general indignation of the Engliſh againſt that nation appeared not ſo much to be excited by motives of religion and national jealouſy, as of reſentment and vengeance. Henry the ſecond, the greateſt and moſt abſolute monarch that ever reigned in England, had paſſed his life in conſtant wars. Though war was not then carried on ſo much with money as with men, it gave occaſion to expences, which could not be borne without harraſſing the people with exactions. Now as the Jews, (in whoſe hands all the money affairs of Europe were then depoſited, who were likewiſe uſurers by profeſſion *,) had been the farmers of Henry II. and the ſupport of his power; they were held of courſe in all the eſteem which ſuch important ſervices deſerved.

* *Antiquum retinentes adverſus omnes extraneos hoſtile odium.* Tacit. Hiſt. l. v.

At the death of Henry II. his ſucceſſor Richard, raiſing money by all the means he could think of for his expedition to the Holy Land, ſaw no poſſibility of ſupplying his wants except by the Jews and the clergy. Scarce were his views furniſed with regard to the former, when the public indignation, which had been ſtifled a long time, ſet up a general outcry. The populace indulging every emotion of reſentment, hurried on all ſides to ſacrifice the Jews for the outrages which they had ſuſtained from their inſolence and rapaciouſneſs.

In the following centuries the incapacity of the Engliſh for commerce had cauſed the Jews to be recalled to England, from whence they were baniſhed in the fourteenth century. In purſuance of the ancient prepoſſeſſion againſt this nation, Shakeſpear has introduced in the comedy which is looked upon as his maſter-piece (the Merchant of Venice) a Jew, whoſe character unites all the qualities of covetouſneſs, knavery, inhumanity, and the moſt execrable vices.

Since their being reſtored in England by Cromwell, the Jews diſperſed through the different claſſes of commerce, ſhare public offices with the other merchants, amongſt whom they diſtinguiſh themſelves by ſentiments and punctuality in their dealings, from which thoſe of their perſwaſion think themſelves diſpenſed in countries where the name of a Jew is a mark of ignominy and reproach. Their wealth makes part of the capital of a nation, and they contribute to its ſplendor.

Thus they can excite envy only upon the ſame account as the Engliſh merchants: beſides, envy is a p ion which owes its birth to idleneſs: perſons whoſe minds are entirely engroſſed by their own affairs, buſy

buſy themſelves but very little with thoſe of other people. The Jews at laſt, warned by the events in which they had been ſufferers, left to the natives the whole profit of the finances, which in England is not always to be depended upon.

The vacancies which had been left in the kingdom by the ſeveral expulſions of the Jews, were filled with regard to the affairs of the bank and finances, by the Lombards, who ſwarmed in France about the ſame period.

England did not yield itſelf up a prey to the Lombard avidity without ſtipulating conditions, which partly favoured the national intereſt. The firſt of theſe obliged thoſe foreigners neither to export gold nor ſilver upon pain of confiſcation and conſiderable fines, but only ſuch materials as were the natural growth of the country, or the product of its manufactures. Lord Bacon, whilſt he relates this fact in his hiſtory of Henry the VIIth, adds that theſe conditions were violated by the Lombards, who had taken the advantage of the civil wars, which terminated at that prince's acceſſion to the throne; and that the confiſcations and fines occaſioned by this infringement, enabled the king to replace the firſt ſubſidies which he had forgiven the nation.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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